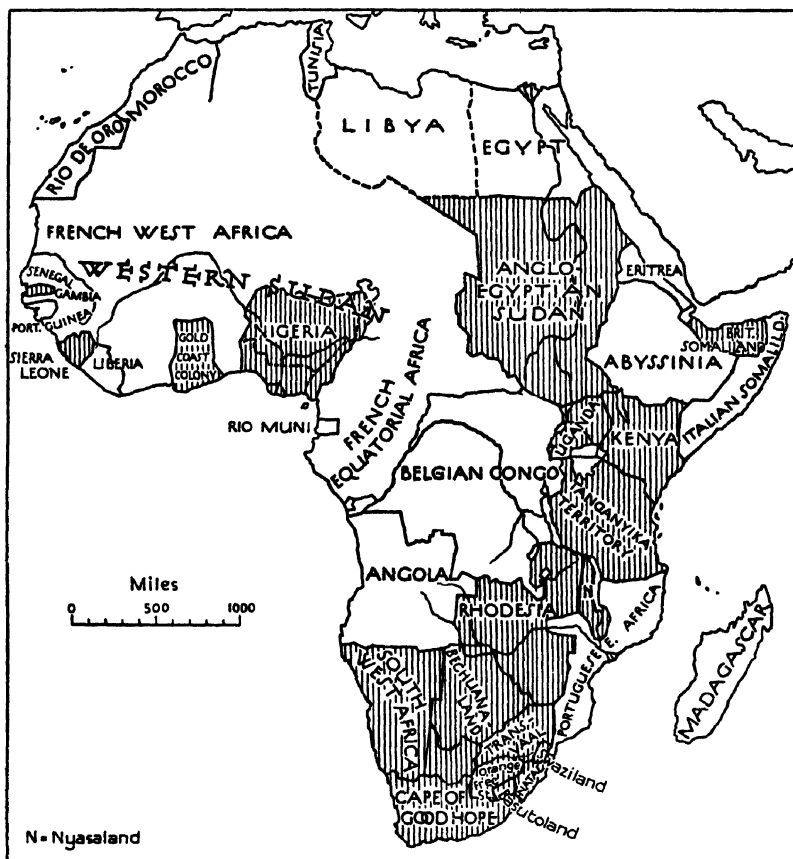


THE MUHAMMADAN
E M I R A T E S
OF NIGERIA



The extent of the British Empire in Africa

THE MUHAMMADAN
E M I R A T E S
O F N I G E R I A

By S. J. HOGBEN

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PREFACE

UNDER this cover I have aimed at collecting what is at present only obtainable from a number of publications and manuscripts which are either out of print or in other ways inaccessible.

Quite a number of Europeans and Africans have been heard to complain of this difficulty in getting hold of the information they require, and if this book can be said to supply their want, in however small a way, my leisure hours have not been wasted.

Only an outline has been attempted; if further and more detailed information is required, I have, at the suggestion of the Lieutenant-Governor, indicated at the end of the book where it can be obtained. The purely local history is quite sketchy, but if the reader who desires to know more about his own particular Emirate will amplify the necessary chapter by reference to local sources (a course which cannot be too strongly recommended), he will probably find that the information given on the surrounding Emirates is sufficient as a background.

I have tried to make a simple story, tracing the development of the civilization of this country from earliest times down to the present day. My hope is that the natives of Northern Nigeria may realize that they have a past, and no mean one; that what they may have thought foreign in our institutions and customs is in reality derived from the same sources as their own, only in their case their development has been accidentally stunted since that fatal closing of the Sudan over three centuries ago by the Moorish Conquest.

The book has, moreover, been designed to cover

ground which, though indispensable to Africans, is usually omitted in simple histories of the world. I hope that it will be found adequate in filling this gap when it is read in conjunction with a History of the World and the British Empire. For this reason it has not been thought necessary to refer to contemporary events except in so far as they directly affected the Western Sudan.

Certain details have been retained which, though often exaggerated or merely legendary, are calculated to appeal to the native imagination and clothe the dry bones of fact. The latter half of the book, for instance, which largely consists of a record of petty squabbles between rival adventurers, should nevertheless be of peculiar interest to the native, and it is hoped in this way to stimulate his curiosity for more accurate knowledge by showing the connexion between his local legends and historical fact.

It has been thought preferable to regard the Fulani Conquest more or less through native eyes as an honest attempt at religious reformation. It has none the less been recorded how sadly the Shehu's successors fell away from his ideals until the coming of the British saved the country from perpetual wars and harsh administrative methods.

Much of the information found in this book has been derived from Mr. H. R. Palmer, C.M.G., C.B.E., Lieutenant-Governor of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, who has most kindly written an introduction; to his generous help and criticism I am greatly indebted.

The whole of Part II, which contains the local history, has been submitted to the various Provincial Education Officers for revision so as to ensure as great a measure of accuracy as possible. I should like to

take this opportunity of recording my gratitude to the officers concerned. I hope that the added usefulness of the book will compensate them for their trouble.

My sincere thanks are also due to Mr. Hanns Vischer, Mr. E. Torday, and Mr. T. H. Baldwin for their advice and suggestions; to Mr. T. S. Phillips, Mr. C. E. J. Whitting, Mr. R. M. East, and Mr. F. de F. Daniel for their kind help in supplementing the available local information; and finally to Mr. F. M. Urling Smith, Director of Education, Northern Provinces, for his encouragement and personal assistance in getting the book ready for publication.

S. J. H.

TORO,
April 1929.

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.NOTES

Sarki is the Hausa word for king or chief. The *n* termination means of: e. g. Sarkin Kano = King of Kano.

Sarauta means the title or office of a king.

Dan means *son of*.

Waziri = Vizier or Prime Minister. There are other titles with varying significance, such as Galadima, Magaji, Chiroma, Ajia, Mutuwali, Yarima, Majidadi, &c.

Mallam = a learned man, hence teacher, scribe or priest. Often a complimentary title like 'doctor'.

Ajele is the same as *Wakili*, and means a deputy or governor set up by a chief to look after his interests.

The termination *awa* means *people*, e. g. Gobirawa = the people of Gobir, Toronkawa = the people of the Toronke clan, Hausawa = the Hausa-speaking people.

Habe (*singular Kado*) is the expression used by the Fulani conquerors for any non-Fulani people; it usually in practice refers to Hausas but not necessarily so.

The *Hausas* are those conglomerate peoples who speak the Hausa language, which has now become the *lingua franca* in much of the country. Very few of the Fulani rulers can now speak their own language except when their Fulani subjects predominate, as in Adamawa; the remainder speak a commonly understood language such as Hausa.

The Muhammadan Year contains 354 days. To convert from A. D. and vice versa the following formula can be used:

$$\text{A. D.} = \text{A. H.} - \frac{3 \text{ A. H.}}{100} + 621 \text{ (neglect fractions).}$$

The spelling of Arabic names varies greatly in English authors, e. g. Othman = Usman. In general *o* and *u* are interchangeable, and so are *a* and *e*.

INTRODUCTION

THE policy of 'Indirect Rule' in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria has passed the experimental stage. For now nearly thirty years the Government of Nigeria has maintained the Emirs and their administrations in the status towards their people which they have occupied for centuries, subject to their ruling in accordance with civilized standards.

It is obvious that though in some measure their progress and enlightenment is affected by force of circumstances, if not by actual direction, yet, as has been shown in many instances, the most potent lever in effecting improvement and reforms is an appeal to traditions or pride in the past which every Emirate, tribe, or other political unit possesses, in greater or lesser degree.

The time has long gone by when the educationist teaches his pupils the history and geography of Europe and stops at that as constituting a liberal education for Africans. It so happens that the Sudan belt is richer than other parts of Africa in history, albeit that history is not as well known as it might be to the outside world. From the time of the Pharaohs of Egypt and on through the epoch of the Carthaginian colonial expansion and the empires of Greece and Rome, culture, drawing its inspiration from each and all of these, was spread directly or indirectly across Northern Africa into the Sudan belt.

To trace in detail the varied survivals and effects of these ancient cultures, which in many cases reached the Sudan in a degenerating form, is a stupendous task, demanding a knowledge of the languages, anthropology, archaeology, and history not only of the Sudan, but of the ancient world as well, which is possessed to-day by no single man, whether European professor or student living in Africa.

At the same time progress is consistent in deciphering the record of the past, though climate and lack of durable material makes the task an even more difficult one than it is in countries where records are preserved in papyrus, stone, or brick.

For native students, Mr. Hogben in these chapters has provided a skeleton framework with such information as is readily accessible, concerning the kingdoms and peoples of the Western and Central Sudan since medieval times. The primary object of the book is that it should be read by pupils in the Nigerian Schools so that they may learn the relation of the history of their country to the history of the world in general; that they may grow up understanding that to them the history of the past of their own country is as important as, if not more important than, the history of other countries which, from a world point of view, are better known.

It is hoped that they may be thus encouraged to be better citizens and to work in an increasing degree for the benefit not merely of themselves but of the Emirates or other political units to which they belong.

H. R. PALMER,
*Lieutenant-Governor,
Northern Provinces.*

KADUNA,
12 *July* 1928.

PART I

I

PRELIMINARY SUMMARY

FROM earliest times the country which now comprises Northern Nigeria, including the whole of this region which is known as the Central and Western Sudan, has derived its civilization from two distinct sources, the East and the West.

*Sources
of civili-
zation in
the
Sudan*

In remote antiquity (c. 3000 B. C.), as far as present discoveries have shown, there is evidence for supposing that the Nile Valley and the Valley of the Two Rivers (the Tigris and Euphrates) supported a civilization considerably in advance of any in Europe or in the rest of Africa, if not in the world. In process of time a conflict arose in the Middle-East between the Indo-European peoples of the northern Mongolian plains and the Semitic peoples from the southern grasslands of Arabia, which culminated in their both spreading westwards and finally confronting each other across the Mediterranean, the former on the European shores and the latter on the African.

During this gradual westerly movement of peoples dynasty succeeded dynasty in the East,¹ and eventually there arose the Medo-Persian Empire which dominated the whole of the Orient. After this came the rise of Greece and the beginning of the rivalry between East and West.

*Rivalry
between
East and
West*

History relates how the Persians were repulsed from Greece, and how eventually Alexander of Macedon overran Persia and reached India, his successors establishing three empires, that of the Ptolemies in Egypt, that of the Seleucids in the Middle-East, and the Macedonian Empire in Europe. There followed the rise of the Roman Republic, the conquest and destruction of the Semitic stronghold of Carthage (originally a Phoenician colony), and the gradual growth of the great Roman Empire which came to include all Western Europe, all Eastern Europe as far north

¹ The words East and Orient are used throughout the book to denote what is called the Middle-East to-day, to distinguish this region from China and Japan, which are known as the Far East.

as the Rhine and the Danube, Asia Minor, Syria, and all North Africa as far south as the Sahara.

The Roman Empire This enormous empire, however, broke up into two halves. In the first century B. C. it was divided by the conflict between Caesar in the West and Pompey in the East, and then again by the similar conflict between Octavian (Augustus) in the West and Antony in the East. Finally, early in the fourth century A. D., the Emperor Constantine made Byzantium the capital of the Empire, and from henceforth the Empire became in fact, if not in name, two states. By the end of the century it was an acknowledged fact.

Within two generations the Western Empire had disappeared before the inroads of the Vandals and the Visigoths, barbarian tribes from the north. With the death of the Emperor Justinian in the sixth century the Eastern Empire had degenerated and become no longer Roman, but a heterogeneous mixture of Greeks, Slavs, and Orientals.

The coming of Islam This was the feeble condition of the Empire when the last and greatest Semitic migration came and occupied a large part of its eastern dominions. It derived its impulse from the new religion of Islam (meaning 'reconciliation' or 'submission') which had been preached by a prophet named Muhammad.

On his death in 632 the Khalifs ('substitutes' or 'successors') who succeeded him organized the wild Arab tribes, and conquered Egypt and Syria from the feeble successors of Justinian. At the same time Arab armies invaded the new Persian Empire, and thus was founded the great Arab (Ommeyad) Khalifate of the East with an imposing capital at Damascus.

The Ommeyyads and the Abbassids The Ommeyad dynasty (descendants of Ommeya) ruled over the Muslim world for about a hundred years. This was a period of Arabic domination. In A. D. 750 the Ommeyyads were expelled by the rival Koreishite clan of the Abbassids (descendants of Abbas, an uncle of the Prophet), who, although Arabs by race, owed their success to the Persians. The transference of power thus marks the successful revolt of civilized Persia against the rule of the Arabs.

After this split in the Khalifate the Abbassids transferred their capital from Damascus to Bagdad, where, as will be described, they built a magnificent city. One of the Ommeyyads, however,

succeeded in establishing a rival Khalifate of the West in Spain (711).

During the Hellenistic Age civilization had reached great heights. Alexandria was an example of one of the splendid cities which reflected the glories of this civilization. The Greeks had learnt to lay out a city artistically with parks and gardens, aqueducts, marble palaces, museums, libraries, and monuments.

*Greek
Civilization*

The Museum at Alexandria was the first scientific institution founded and supported by a government. Here was collected a great body of learned scientists who devoted their lives to research.

Euclid, whose geometry is used to-day in our schools, was an Alexandrian mathematician. Other notable men of the age were Archimedes the famous scientist, Aristarchus the astronomer who demonstrated that the earth and the planets revolve round the sun, Eratosthenes who rightly calculated the size of the earth, and Aristotle, one of the greatest philosophers the world has ever seen.

Let it suffice to say that under Greek influence the Mediterranean world emerged from barbarism and evolved a hitherto unequalled standard of living. Greek culture, art, and learning have rarely been surpassed even to this day.

With the growth of the Roman Empire this Greek civilization continued and spread throughout the Mediterranean, gradually gaining new foci. The Romans fostered what the Greeks had originated.

In the same way, with the rise of Arab supremacy in the East and the West, the old Greek civilization found new patrons. With the new prosperity came learning and art, and the Arabs found themselves carrying on what the Greeks had evolved, just as the Romans had done. For this the world owes them a vast debt, but the debt is sometimes exaggerated. It must not be supposed, as Arab writers try to make out, that the Arabs originated as well as maintained the high state of civilization in which they lived.

*The
Arabs*

Towards the end of the first millennium, therefore, we find at the western end of the Mediterranean the great Oriental kingdom of the Ommeyyads (the Moors), and at the eastern end, the even greater Oriental empire of the Abbassids (the Saracens).

Europe

The colonies on the north coast of Africa were all under the rule of Islam, and what was left of the great Roman Empire was represented by little more than the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor. The remainder of Europe was occupied by a variety of Germanic tribes.

Desert Routes As will be shown later, to communicate with the barely known savannah lands of the Central and Western Sudan, the Sahara had to be crossed. There were only two routes, the Eastern and the Western. What was more natural, therefore, than that the Western Sudan should absorb the civilization of the Western Mediterranean by the western route, and that the Eastern and East-Central Sudan should do the opposite?

Rival Kingdoms in the Sudan In this way it came about that this rivalry between the East and the West was carried on into the regions of the Sudan. In the West grew up the Wangara kingdoms of Ghana and Malle, in the East the Semi-Berber kingdom of Kanem. Islam duly found its way across the desert, but in Malle from Morocco, and in Kanem from Egypt and Mecca.

In course of time the Songhay Empire supplanted Malle and, extending her boundaries, included the Hausa States among her vassals. The conquest of Songhay by the Moors at the end of the sixteenth century coincided with the rise to power of the Bornu Empire, which had developed out of the old kingdom of Kanem and now took over the suzerainty of the Hausa States. The latter in fact formed the buffer between the rival empires.

So it remained until the gradual migration of the Fulani from the West into the Hausa States made them strong enough to rise against their rulers and establish the Sokoto Empire. This transferred the old vassals and provinces of Bornu to the West again. The two rivals had now come to close quarters, but neither was strong enough to conquer the other.

The power of each gradually declined. As year succeeded year the allegiance to Sokoto grew more nominal. In the last years of the nineteenth century Rabeh conquered Bornu, and in the Hausa States the Fulani had reached a pitiful state of degeneracy. They had forgotten how to fight, except against unarmed villagers, and their administration was hopelessly corrupt.

With the opening of the twentieth century came the British

Occupation. Distasteful though it may have been to the ruling classes, it saved them from the destruction from within or without which was awaiting them, and saved the bulk of the population from the miserable uncertainty of slave-raids and the hardly less miserable certainty of extortion and oppression.

*The
British
Occupation*

The country has so far stood up well to the drastic purification it has undergone. The shock of the operation, however, has been great, and the tissues must be given time to heal. One cannot leave the patient to walk unaided for some little time to come. We do not expect an infant to show gratitude to a surgeon for saving its life. We do, however, hope that when the infant grows to years of discretion he will realize that even though the surgeon draws his fees to make a living, it is his experience and advice alone which have put the patient on his legs again, and that until the cure is permanent it is as well to have the doctor close at hand.

II

THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF ARAB CIVILIZATION

*External
Influ-
ences
from the
North*

THE history of Nigeria down to modern times and the development and decline of civilization in the Western Sudan cannot be rationally treated without a rapid survey of the external influences which have acted directly or indirectly on this country in the course of ages.¹

It is important to observe that until comparatively recent times Nigeria and those countries which we group together under the heading of the Western Sudan were only accessible to the civilized world by a long and perilous journey across the Sahara.²

But in spite of this difficulty these countries have looked to the north for enlightenment and progress, and have merely regarded the south and that strip of country which we call the

¹ Historic times may be said to coincide with Arab penetration, but it would be a mistake to assume that barbarism had previously held sway over the whole country. A systematic archaeological survey has not yet been attempted, but the feeble beginnings made have already disclosed that Southern Nigeria, at any rate, had developed a certain civilization of its own long before it became known to the rest of the world. Ancient pottery and iron-work found in Yoruba country are witnesses of an advanced stage of culture, and the brass castings of Ife, from which the Benin bronze industry developed, are certainly not the work of savages. If we are right in attributing considerable antiquity to the wonderful terra-cotta heads unearthed at Ife, we may boldly state that in artistic achievement the ancient Nigerians hold a very honourable place in the world, and had nothing to learn from the Arab conquerors of Western Sudan. Nor are their political institutions, as disclosed by the earliest travellers, to be despised; they are inspired by democratic ideals for which we look in vain among Arabs.—E. T.

² The perils of the desert did not, however, always daunt the enterprising spirits of the East, and Sayf ibn Dhi Yazan, grandson of the great king of Yemen, Dhi Nawas, is credited with the exploit of crossing the Sahara from east to west in the sixth century, founding Kanem and extending his rule over Baghirmi and Wadai. If historical research has proved that this feat cannot possibly be attributed to this prince in person, great traveller as he was, there can be little doubt that some of his subjects, starting from Egypt under a leader who impersonated their royal master, penetrated far into the Sudan and imposed their sway on the natives. The founders of the Za dynasty of Songhay are also reputed to have come by the same way in pre-Islamic times. See Chapter VI.—E. T.

West Coast as a wild tract of bush inhabited by pagans and potential slaves.

From the time of the Hijra up to the beginning of the seventeenth century steady progress was maintained, and as year succeeded year the Western Sudan, largely through the medium of Islam, became more and more civilized and prosperous. The standard of culture and learning became comparable to that of many parts of contemporary Europe, and conditions of life were often superior, for the civilization of Andalusia and Morocco, which influenced the Western Sudan, had been far in advance of that of Europe. Cordova under the great Abdurrahman, with the possible exception of Byzantium, was the finest city in Europe, both in the magnificence of her buildings and in the learning, accomplishments, and refinement of her inhabitants.

*Pros-
perity of
the
Sudan
before
1591*

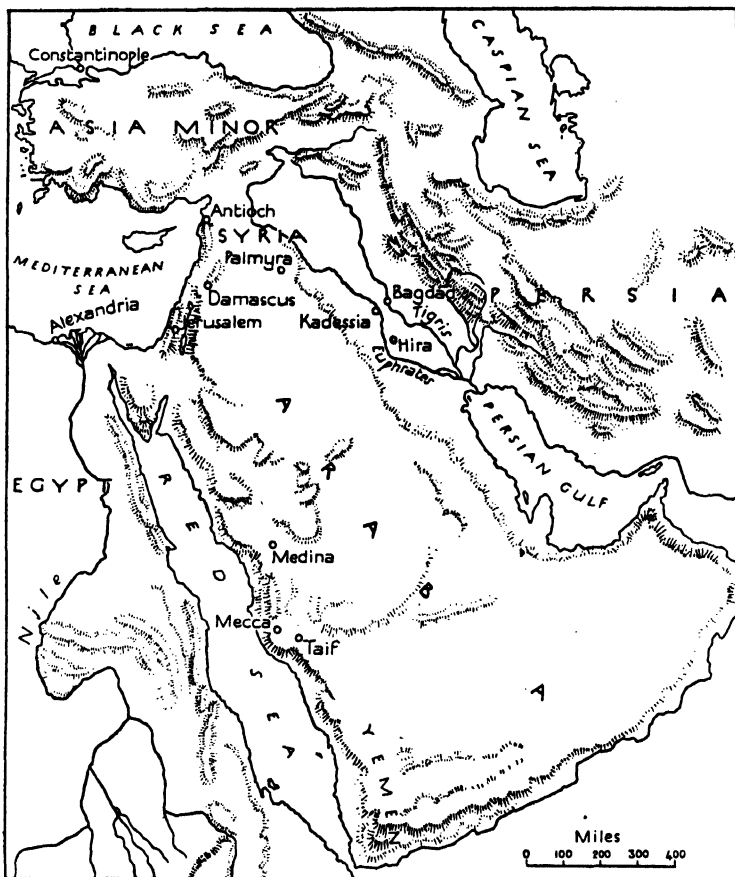
But with the Moorish invasion of Songhay and the Sudan, at the end of the sixteenth century, all access to the refining influences of Southern Europe and North Africa was closed, and the country rapidly deteriorated into a land of rape and pillage, bloodshed and pagan practices. All that had been gained was lost. Destruction was the key-note of the new régime. It was not until Europe began to knock at the southern door by discovering the course of the Niger and establishing communications by sea and river that the country woke from its decadence and began to thrive—though very slowly at first—under the beneficial effects of contact with a more virile civilization. The Fulani movement under Shehu Usuman dan Fodio was a sincere attempt at reformation, and other similar efforts have been made, but as long as the Sudan remained shut off from the world it was bound to remain backward.

*Deterior-
ation
after the
Moorish
Conquest
1591*

The new ideas which reached the Western Sudan in the seventh century were imported by the Arabs at the same time as Islam, and one is naturally tempted to identify the one with the other. It is well to remember that, while Islam was at the time still in its infancy, the origins of Arab civilization can be traced back to anything between thirty and forty centuries before the Hijra. There was at any rate an advanced civilization in antiquity in the comparatively fertile south of Arabia—the Yemen.

*Arab In-
fluences*

This civilization appears to have been based on the maritime



The Near East at the time of Muhammad—seventh century

enterprise of the southern Arabians who did an extensive carrying trade between the Persian Gulf, India, and the West.¹ But this prosperity had fallen away long before the time of Muhammad. Perhaps the main cause of its decline was the establishment by Roman enterprise of a through sea-route from Egypt to the East. This dealt a great blow to the caravan trade of the Arabian Peninsula.²

Ancient Arab Civilization in Southern Arabia

There is no evidence, however, that the northern Arabs ever developed a civilization in pre-Muslim times.

The Northern Arabs Uncivilized

From time immemorial Arabia was divided into North and South, not only by the trackless desert which stretches across the peninsula and forms a natural barrier to intercourse, but also by the opposition of two kindred races differing widely in their character and way of life. The inhabitants of the Northern Province (the Hejaz and the great central highland of Nejd) were rude nomads sheltering in 'houses of hair' and ever shifting to and fro in search of pasture for their camels.³

The habits of these tribes are singularly changeless, and in the time of Muhammad they used to roam about in just the same way as they had done centuries before in the time of Abraham and as they do now. There were only three towns of any importance in central Arabia, Mecca, Medina, and Taif. These had a mixed population of Arabs, Jews, and Persians, and carried on a certain amount of trade, but they were only like so many oases in a desert of barbaric nomads.

Arabian poetry had reached a very high standard of development before the time of Muhammad. But this poetry portrays a barbaric and nomadic state of society. It was not until after the rise of Islam that the Arabs were sufficiently literate to write their poetry, and it can hardly be claimed for them therefore that they were highly civilized.

Arab Poetry

Outside the Arabian peninsula, however, there were certain Arab tribes which had absorbed some of the civilization of the great Persian and Roman Empires before the time of Muhammad. Originally Bedouin raiders from Arabia, these migratory Arabs had been employed as paid troops in the imperial armies. Rome and Persia were almost perpetually at war and the

Civilizing Influence of the Ghassanids and the Lakhmites

¹ Cf. Ezekiel xxvii. 19-24. He wrote about 600 B. C.

² Muir, *Life of Muhammad*. ³ Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*.

Bedouin were irresistibly attracted by regular pay and the prospects of plunder. In this way arose two Arab dynasties, the Ghassanids in Syria and the Lakhmites in Hira west of the Euphrates. The rulers of both dynasties became Christians and surrounded themselves with some of the pomp of Oriental courts. It is to these two kingdoms that the Arabs of the Peninsula owed whatever faint tinge of culture they possessed in the days of the Prophet.

The Lakhmites of Hira The Christian Arabs of Hira learned the art of writing long before it was practised in Arabia, and they produced the oldest written poetry in the Arabic language. A number of pagan poets from the peninsula visited the court at Hira. One of the poets of Hira, 'Adi ibn Zayd, was actually brought up at the court of the Persian king. 'He learned to write and speak Persian with complete facility, and Arabic with the utmost eloquence; he versified, and his accomplishments include archery, horsemanship and polo'.¹ He was the first man who ever wrote Arabic in the imperial chancery of Persia.

The Ghassanids of Syria The Ghassanids of Syria ruled the country round Damascus and Palmyra, though they never possessed either of these cities, and had no fixed capital. As they fell under Hellenistic influence they developed a higher civilization than their neighbours of Hira, but they had less contact with the Arabs of the Peninsula. Still Hassan ibn Thait, who was later the Prophet's poet-laureate, visited the Ghassanid court in his pagan days and gave a glowing account of its magnificence.

I have seen ten singing girls, five of them Greek, singing Greek songs to the music of lutes, and five from Hira, chanting Babylonian airs. Arab singers used to come from Mecca and elsewhere for his (the King's) delight, and when he would drink wine he sat on a couch of myrtle and jasmine and all kinds of sweet-smelling flowers, surrounded by gold and silver vessels full of ambergris and musk.²

Thus these two Arab kingdoms held a mediating position, or formed a bridge between the wild pagan Arabs of the Peninsula and the great civilizations of Byzantium and Persia. Although Christians, they gave much military assistance to the Muslim Arabs during the wars of early Islam. No doubt too they made

¹ Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*.

² Ibid.

it easier for the Muslim armies to absorb the civilizations of the empires which they conquered. They had had a preliminary spoonful of what the Muslims were later to consume in generous measure, and they were able to recommend the sample as worth trying.

Islam did much for the improvement of the standard of living in Arabia. Mecca and Medina were so much enriched by the spoils of successful wars in Syria, Iraq, &c., that their wealthier inhabitants were able to build themselves marble palaces with shady gardens and treasure-houses.

The first mosque at Medina, built during Muhammad's lifetime, was a lowly edifice, not unlike the local Nigerian mosques. It was later enlarged and beautified. 'The supports, at first the trunks of date-palm, were removed and the roof made to rest on pillars of hewn stone. The walls too were built up with masonry, richly carved and inlaid with rare and precious stones.'¹

One must not fall into the error of looking on the Arabs as a nation. Their chief characteristic has always been impatience of restraint and the consequent independence of the clan, the family, and the individual. The sheikh who looks after the tribal interests is by no means implicitly obeyed, and a permanent bond is not expected. To call the Arabs a nation is to ignore the most stable factor in their history, that is, the persistent and fanatical feuds between the Northern and Southern Arabs.

*The
Arabs
not a
Nation*

For a short time Islam did succeed in uniting the Arabs, and in the days of the second Khalif, Omar, it is perhaps permissible to speak of an Arab nation. But they soon lapsed into their old rivalry, and their insensate feuds came within an ace of undermining their empire in North Africa and Spain. As a fact it contributed very largely to the collapse of the Arabs and the ascendancy of the Persians as the directing power of Islam, that is under the Abbassids.

It is true that the Arabs had great pride of race and that occasionally they were able to sink their differences before a foreign foe. It is not at all correct, however, to speak of Muhammad as a national leader, although many people do so. Not only were some of his earliest followers non-Arabs, but the

¹ Muir, quoting Al Mas'udi.

spirit of his teaching runs quite contrary to national ambitions, as the better Muslims have always admitted. Islam, like Christianity, preaches a brotherhood of Faith; the believing Negro and the believing Arab are equals. The Bedouin who flocked to Muhammad's standard in his last years were attracted by the hopes of booty in the wars. Booty was a thing they understood very well indeed; nationhood was an idea they did not understand. It is significant that a great number of the Bedouin apostatized as soon as they heard of Muhammad's death.

*The
Khalifs* For six hundred years the Muslim world was nominally under the authority of a central ruler or Khalif. After Muhammad came the first four (or orthodox) Khalifs, Abubakr, Omar, Othman, and Ali, who were elected by vote. Then Syrian forces set up Moawia as Khalif at Damascus, and from him sprang the family of the Ommeyyads who occupied the Khalifate from 661 to 750. They were succeeded by the second dynasty of Khalifs, called the Abbassids, who transferred the capital from Damascus to Bagdad, and held the Khalifate until its destruction by the Mongol Tartars in 1258.

*Decline
of the
Khalifs'
Power* At first the Khalif was a real emperor with unquestioned authority over the vast Muslim world. But the empire was too large to revolve round a single centre for long, and, as one might expect from the Arab character, the empire split up under independent chiefs and eventually, in some cases, even spiritual homage to the Khalif lapsed. Only three hundred years after the foundation of the Khalifate the Khalif had become a mere figure-head, a tool in the hands of his nobles.

III

MEDITERRANEAN INFLUENCES

1. *North Africa*

IN looking back through the centuries, we must keep the Sudan in the right perspective. On the east was the fertile valley of the Nile, known to have been the home of a highly civilized race for thousands of years before the Christian era. It is natural to find that everything of which the African is proud is supposed to have originated in the East. There is a religious reason, too; all Muhammadans like to identify their origin with the Holy Land. On the north was a fertile strip along the coast of the Great Sea, merging towards the south into the merciless Sahara desert, which, if it could be traversed, led one to another fertile zone which we call the Western Sudan. This land was bounded and enclosed on the south by impenetrable bush supposed to harbour the most ferocious pagans. There was, it is true, an outlet to the sea on the west, but this was of no practical use, as it led nowhere.

*Geo-
graphical
position
of the
Western
Sudan*

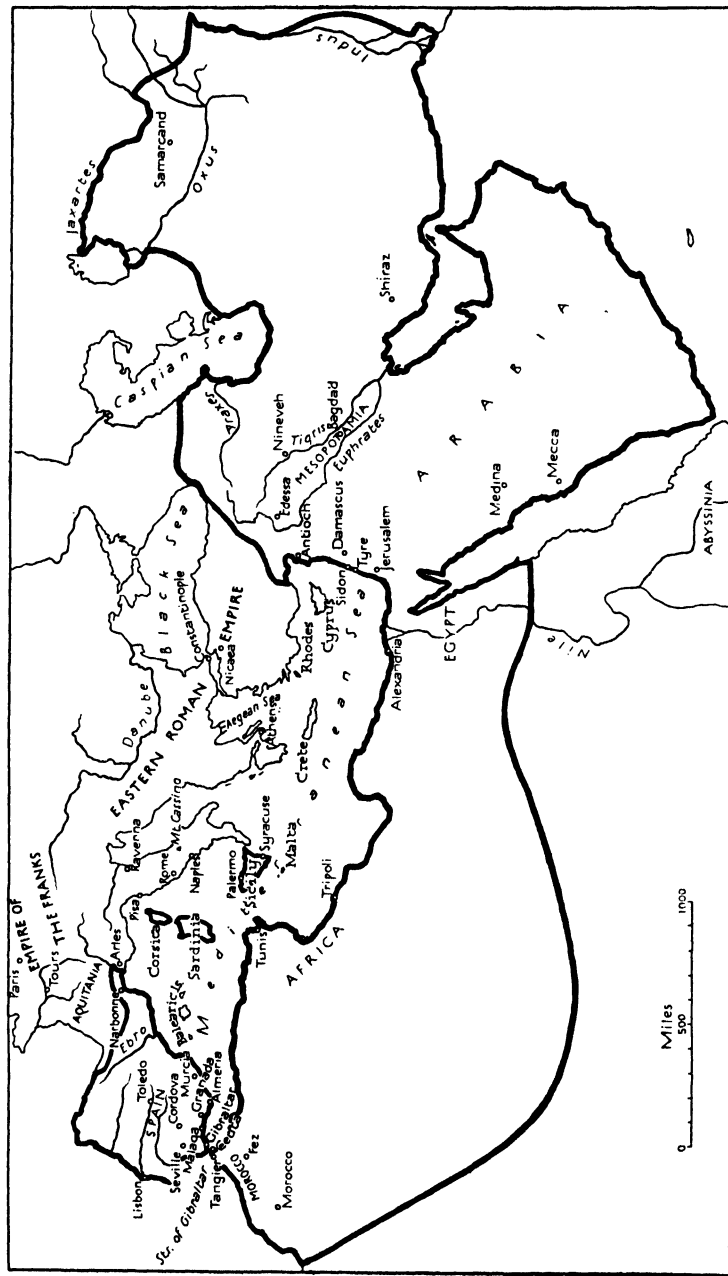
The northern littoral bordering the Mediterranean is believed to have been first explored and colonized by the Phoenicians who lived on the eastern borders of the Great Sea from about 2000 B.C. onwards. They worked their way along the coast in their small ships until they reached the Pillars of Hercules, as the Straits of Gibraltar were then called, and even managed to explore the west coast of Africa as far south as the Senegal River. Some say that they completed the circuit of Africa, but this must be vague conjecture. They certainly founded the colony of Carthage (c. 850 B.C.), and various trading stations along the coast.¹

*The
Phoeni-
cians*

In course of time these colonies became Roman provinces (146 B.C.). With the spread of civilization and Christianity into Africa much of the indigenous population elected to seek refuge on the fringe of the desert and in the desert itself. These homeless

*The
Berbers*

¹ They must have had inland connexions with the Sudan, as in Hannibal's time ivory and black slaves were exported by them in great quantities to Sicily, Italy, and Greece.—E. T.



The Muhammadan Conquests at their greatest extent, about 750

tribes were known as Berbers. Under the Romans these provinces flourished, but when the Roman Empire sank back into obscurity the country was once more left at the mercy of the invader.

In 638 the Arabs, who had lately adopted Islam, conquered Egypt and shortly afterwards overran Tripoli (642). They were led by Amr. This was the beginning of the new era, and it had far-reaching effects throughout the whole of Northern Africa and the western world. In 666 Okbar Ibn Nafe penetrated the Sahara desert as far south as Kauwar, in Tebu country, not far north of Lake Chad, but unfortunately he was persuaded to turn back when just short of discovering the savannah lands to the south which he was seeking. In 681 Okbar conquered the south-western part of Morocco, which was then a very fertile country inhabited by Europeans and Berbers.

*The Arab
Conquest
(638)*

This was followed a few years later by the complete conquest of the Berbers of Afrikia, as the northern provinces were called, by Musa ibn Nosair. His policy was to encourage intermarriage between his Arabs and chosen Berber women and to buy the freedom of promising young Berbers in order to convert them to Islam. It was not long, therefore, before the Arab and Berber races became thoroughly intermingled.

2. *The Moors in Andalusia*

After consolidating his conquests in Afrikia, Musa turned his eyes across the sea, and, providing himself with a strong fleet, he first tried his hand on Sicily, Sardinia, and other islands. These expeditions meeting with success, he decided to invade Spain, and in 710 he established a footing at Gibraltar. His general Tarik won a great victory over Roderic at Guadalete which gave all Spain into the hands of the Moors.¹

*Invasion
of Spain
(710)*

¹ Internal strife made Spain an easy prey. Wrested from the Phoenicians after the second Punic War in 201 B. C., it had become a Roman colony, and by the time Julius Caesar was governor (61 B. C.), the natives had become practically romanized. With its growing prosperity under the Empire, the population, with the exception of the hardy mountaineers of the north, became so assimilated to Rome that it produced some of the shining lights of Latin literature, such as the younger Seneca, Lucan, Martial, Quintilian, and others. The invasion and consequent misrule by northern barbarians, such as the Vandals, Suebi, Alans, and the Visigoths, reduced the country to ruin, and many districts, though under the nominal rule of the king of the

Following on this military occupation of Andalusia, the name given by the Arabs to all the Spanish Peninsula except the north-west corner, came a general Arab and Berber migration to it. But naturally these new-comers never formed more than a small fraction of the population, which consisted mainly of the old inhabitants whose Roman civilization contributed so much to raise the country to its high destinies. The first years were years of strife between the Arabs and Berbers. The former, the ruling element of the invasion, were not by any means proselytizers, but were essentially mundane. The other races, on the contrary, as usually happens with recent converts, were far more fanatically inclined. The Arabs had a poor opinion of the Berbers, looked upon them as plebeian louts, and constantly gave them the poor man's portion.

*Abdur-
rahman
lands in
Spain
(758)*

In 758, however, a certain Abdurrahman landed romantically on the shores of Spain and established the Ommeyad dynasty at Cordova. At this time there had been a great conflict between the rival claimants for the Khalifate of the East, and the Abbassids had succeeded in overthrowing the dynasty of the Ommeyads; but Abdurrahman succeeded in escaping the fate of the rest of the Ommeyads, and after five years of wandering on the Barbary coast he decided to try his fortune in Spain at the invitation of the partisans of the Ommeyad dynasty. In the course of a few years Abdurrahman ad Dakhil (the Enterer), after incessant fighting, cleared his path of all enemies, crushed the Arab *noblesse* and established himself as Emir. There was no national feeling to give him support. It was a typical Oriental monarchy, built on a slave army and later to be destroyed by one.

*The
Ommey-
yad
Empire*

The independent empire which was thus founded in Cordova maintained its grip over the country by force of arms, and had constantly to struggle to keep the balance between the two contending parties striving for supremacy. The fanatical Berbers,

moment, reverted to tribal independence. At the time of the Arab invasion Roderic had his hands full with struggles against rebellious lords, and Tarik won an easy victory over him, which he followed up by the capture of Toledo and Cordova. Stimulated by this success, Musa followed with a large army and completed the conquest of Andalusia. He left the Gothic lords in power under the suzerainty of the Khalif. Though Spain had become nominally Christian about 600, the greater part of the population had remained more or less pagan and readily accepted Islam as its religion.—E. T.

defenders of the faith, were opposed to all progress, while the tepid religiosity of the native Muslims was compensated for by a thirst for knowledge which was due to memories of Rome. Christianity began to raise its head. The persecutions by orthodox Berber teachers and the arrogance of the Arab aristocracy did more to drive the native Muslims into its arms than all the lukewarm efforts of the bishops who were the obedient servants of the Sultans and Khalifs.

Abdurrahman III (912-61), the greatest of the Ommeyyads, restored for a time the fortunes of Arab rule in Spain. He put down brigandage, repressed the turbulent nobles, and even the Christian princes were obliged to recognize his suzerainty. During his rule Andalusia reached its greatest splendour, which lasted for nearly a hundred years.

*Abdurrahman
III
(912-61)*

Hitherto the rulers of his family had called themselves sultans; he proclaimed himself Khalif (929). His lavish expenditure on building impressed the world by its magnificence but drained the resources of his subjects. Both he and his son encouraged science and literature, and theirs was the golden age of Arab learning. To a great extent this was due to the fact that both rulers were powerful enough to free learning from the bonds of orthodoxy, for it is well to bear in mind that a certain antagonism was unavoidable between Islam and a learning which was mainly derived from alien sources. The most important of these was Hellenism.

*Pro-claims
himself
Khalif
(929)*

*The Golden Age
of Arab
learning*

In Europe, which was passing through the throes of fundamental changes, classical learning had fallen into neglect with the decline of the Roman Empire, and was not revived till the growing power of the Ottomans drove the greater part of the learned men out of Constantinople into exile and made them the apostles of Greek culture wherever they found an asylum.

It is to the greatest credit of Islamic Spain that it cherished and nursed during this period the treasures of the past. These had reached the Muslim world through Syria, and it was from the Syriac that most of the philosophical and scientific classics had been translated into Arabic. Aided by the absorption of Greek elements due to conquests, these translations laid the foundation of the Arab schools of learning. All that we call Arab in science, mathematics, medicine, surgery, and philo-

*Arab
learning
based on
Greek*

sophy, is mainly based on Greek works; and, of still greater importance, the love of letters and the thirst for knowledge came to the Arabs through their contact with the mother of modern civilization. Even if the Arabs added nothing to the teaching of Greece, they deserved great credit for having kept the standard of Hellenism flying when the rest of the world had lost sight of it. The debt which Arab civilization owes to Greece has been repaid by a religious cult of, and an ardent devotion to, her achievements. Aristotle remained the 'master of them that know' in the East as he had been in the West.

3. *Bagdad*

The Arab Empire in the East under the Abbassids During the ensuing two and a half centuries of Ommeyyad rule Andalusia reached great heights of culture and civilization. To visualize this it will be helpful to turn to the East and see the marvellous development of the Arab Empire under the Abbassids. After the overthrow of the Ommeyyads a new capital was built at Bagdad (750), whither the court removed from Damascus. One of the first Khalifs of Bagdad was the famous Harun ar Rashid (the Just) who with his son Mamun ushered in the most brilliant period of Saracenic ¹ rule in Asia. The descriptions of Bagdad by the Arab writers read like a fairy story, but the authorities, given as they are to exaggeration, are too numerous to disbelieve altogether.

Bagdad 'Bagdad was the capital of Islam, the eye of Irak, the seat of empire, the centre of beauty, culture and arts.'² The city bestrode the Tigris in a circle twelve miles in diameter, and was beautifully laid out with parks, villas, and promenades. Finely built mosques, baths, and markets were arranged at intervals. The population at the time reached over two millions. There were numerous aqueducts supplying water to every household at all seasons of the year, and all the streets, gardens, and parks were kept swept and watered. In the centre of the city opposite the imperial palace was the immense square, which like the streets was lighted at night. Here were held reviews, tournaments, horse races, and polo, which was introduced by Ar Rashid from Persia.

¹ *Saracen*, a word used by the Christians at the time of the Crusades for the Arabs or Moors.

² Yakut. Cf. Ameer Ali's *Short History of the Saracens*.

The city abounded in palaces, beautiful several-storied mansions of marble, richly decorated with all manner of costly ornamentation, gold, silver, and precious stones. The interiors were lavishly hung with tapestry, silks, or brocades. Along the river was an endless vista of palaces, kiosks, gardens, and parks. The mosques were in keeping with the rest of the city, magnificent structures of great beauty. There were also numerous colleges, whither students flocked from all parts of the world, besides hospitals and infirmaries under a Director of Hospitals. Until nearly the end of the first millennium women were not segregated. Ladies used to hold their own against men in culture and wit, taking part in social soirées and poetical recitations, and enlivening society with their grace and accomplishments. There were many famous women who were poets, historians, jurists, and musicians; some used to lecture on history and law. 'In the midst of the turmoil of the eleventh century woman was still the object of chivalrous adoration and of delicate care and attention.'¹

*The
Position
of Wo-
men*

Among the sports indulged in by the Arabs of Bagdad were archery, polo, hockey, spear-throwing, racing, wrestling, and fencing. Rackets and tennis were played by both sexes. Cricket was not unknown. Hunting and falconry were favourite pastimes with the chiefs and nobles. Chess was universally popular.

Sports

To turn to the intellectual development of Bagdad, there were countless professors and savants flourishing at this time who directed their minds to every branch of human study. It is hard to exaggerate the great work done by the Arabs in assisting the development of the world, although we must not forget that their historians have never erred on the side of modesty. Integrated by Islam, they suddenly became a hitherto unsuspected intellectual force. While Europe was rent by internal dissensions, the Arabs became the custodians of Indian and Greek science. Bagdad was patronized by Indian and Syrian doctors. Euclid was first translated in the reign of Harun ar Rashid, while the first notable Arab mathematician was Muhammad ben Musa al Khwarizmi. The chief talents of the race were bestowed on trigonometry and astronomy, much of which they got from Greek and Hindu sources, but in later times chiefly Greek. The Arabs are said to have invented the mariner's compass and the

Learning

¹ Amir Osama. Cf. Ameer Ali's *Short History of the Saracens*.

telescope; they fostered many of the physical sciences and contributed in no small degree to future research in such faculties as medicine, astronomy, mathematics, and chemistry. There were famous historians, geographers, philosophers, and encyclopaedists.¹

A glimpse of the Khalif's court at one of his private receptions, when physicians and astronomers dilated on the latest discoveries of science, poets gave recitations, and travellers told their tales of wonder, would be illuminating to our eyes. The magnificence of the dresses and interior appointments, apart from the pomp and pageantry of the scene, would hold us spell-bound.

Decline of the Arabs At the beginning of the eleventh century the outlook of the Arab world was indeed bright and hopeful, but it was soon to be involved in a desperate struggle for existence with the Crusaders, and no sooner to be delivered from this than to be engulfed by the Tartaric wave which swept away all the culture and civilization of the East.

¹ Later Arab writers have done their forefathers an ill turn by claiming more for them than is their share. We are apt to forget our indebtedness to the learned men of Bagdad and Cordova when these zealots ascribe to them ideas which we know to be derived from earlier sources. They have added nothing to the chemistry of the Alexandrine Greeks. The discoveries attributed to Jaber (Geber) cannot be found in his original Arabic manuscripts; they were added much later, about the fifteenth century, by his Latin translators, who brought his work up to date. The writings of Avicenna contain nothing that cannot be found in those of Galen, Aristotle, and later Greek physicians. But we are indebted to Arab physicians for the valuable descriptions of small-pox and measles and the teaching of the therapeutic use of drugs. They also produced the first pharmacopoeia and originated the idea of apothecary shops. Their religion forbidding them to dissect the human body, they cannot be blamed for adding nothing to our knowledge of anatomy and physiology; but they have carefully preserved the bequests of the ancient world. If for the same reason they could contribute little that was new to the surgeon's art, Abdulcasim (1122) deserves honourable mention for his courage in exercising a restraining influence on the too free use of the knife, so common in his days, and for making general the use of cautery and caustics. In no field have the Arabs gained such distinction as in that of geography, in which they included much history and ethnography. Prepared for great achievements by a thorough study of the ancients, born travellers and keen observers, they have contributed immensely to our knowledge of the earth and its inhabitants. Such names as Sulaiman, Abu Zaid, Masud, Istakhari, Idrisi, and many others will be deservedly honoured by all ages. As an historian, Tabari is second to none, and the philosophy of Averroes was not without influence on European thought.—E. T.

4. Cordova

To describe Cordova would be largely a repetition of the glories of Bagdad. In order to realize the significance of this, it must be remembered that contemporary Europe was plunged in barbaric ignorance and savage manners; our Saxon ancestors were dwelling in wooden hovels floored with dirty straw. Hardly a man could read or write, whereas in Andalusia nearly all could read and write well. There was an elaborate system of primary, elementary, and secondary schools. Granada alone contained seventy public libraries, seventeen colleges, and two hundred schools.

Excellence of Civilization in Andalusia compared with that of Europe

The city of Cordova was probably about ten miles long and was situated on the banks of the Guadalquivir. Like Bagdad its elaborate system of aqueducts and fountains was a feature of the city. Its whole extent was occupied by marble houses, palaces, mosques, and gardens. No country in the world ever enjoyed a higher degree of agricultural prosperity than Spain under the Arabs. They had a marvellous system of irrigation and their gardens were planted with all manner of exotic fruits which have since become indigenous to the country; the Spaniards are also indebted to the Arabs for the introduction of rice and sugarcane.

Cordova

It is recorded that there were fifty thousand houses of the aristocracy and official classes, more than a hundred thousand dwellings for the common people, seven hundred mosques, and nine hundred public baths.

Buildings

Enough has now been said to give some indication of the splendours of Cordova. Her claims to admiration in greater matters than mere parks and buildings were no less strong. Her professors and teachers made her the centre of European culture. Every branch of science was studied there, as in Bagdad, and the surgeons of Andalusia made far-reaching discoveries. But indeed the pursuit of other sciences was no less ardently conducted. Literature, astronomy, geography, mathematics—all claimed their famous devotees.

Learning

In the Arts too the Moors soon became apt pupils of their Byzantine, Persian, and Egyptian masters.

Besides Cordova there were the cities of Almeria, Seville,

Malaga, Murcia, Toledo, and Granada, to mention only the more important which enjoyed a similar civilization.

Trade A prosperous trade was carried on with the East, especially in silks and damasks. Glass was manufactured and in common use.

Position of Women The women were not kept shut up in the harem, but enjoyed as in Bagdad a great measure of emancipation, participating in the social and literary life of the day. They held all manner of posts, regardless of their sex, many becoming professors, jurists, or surgeons. The Saracens of Spain were renowned for their chivalrous spirit and gallantry.

Religious Tolerance It is interesting to note that the rectors of the Universities were chosen from the most distinguished scholars regardless of religious distinction. Jews and Christians often obtained these appointments. Real learning in the opinion of the Arabs was 'of greater value than the religious opinion of the literate'. Every college had the following lines inscribed over its gates: 'The world is supported by four things only: the learning of the wise, the justice of the great, the prayers of the good, and the valour of the brave.'

5. *Decline of the Moors in Spain*

Al Mansur b'Illah the Usurper The great Khalif Abdurrahman was followed by a powerful usurper, Al Mansur b'Illah, 'The Victorious through God', who owed his position to the support of his African troops. On his death in 1002 rival claimants began to dismember the kingdom. The Arabs and Berbers in Spain had by this time become so enervated by luxury that, becoming disunited, they offered little resistance to the Christian armies under Alfonso, who almost succeeded in driving them out of Spain. But they were saved by the timely intervention of a religious sect calling themselves Almoravids (Murabitis) under a leader called Yusuf.

The Almoravids In years gone by, many of the wilder Berber tribes had been forced to withdraw into the desert to the south to escape the internal conflicts that were raging in North Africa. Thus had been established a Desert Empire which had for years held sway

The Desert Empire over the petty negro kingdoms of Senegal. In 1048 the ruler of this empire, a man named Yahaya of the Senejah tribe, returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca in company

with a revivalist preacher named Ibn Yasin, who commenced teaching a strict doctrine to these hardy herdsman. It was not long before this doctrine attracted a large number of followers, who assumed the name of Almoravids. Yahaya collected them together and marched northwards against Morocco. On his death there in 1056 his brother Abubakr continued the conquest of Morocco for a year or two until he retired to his desert kingdom, leaving in command his cousin Yusuf. Yusuf built the town of Morocco, and, separating from Abubakr, established a Moorish kingdom.

This is how it came about that in 1086, at the battle of Zallakah, we find Yusuf driving back the Christian armies and replacing the effete Andalusian kings with military governors. He founded the Almoravid dynasty in Spain (1090-1145) with a double court, one at Morocco and the other at Seville.

Meanwhile Abubakr in the south was subduing the peoples of the Senegal and Niger regions and propagating the teaching of Islam, so that the Almoravid influence in the Western Sudan was practically identical with that brought to bear in Spain.

The Almoravid dynasty was not destined to last long. The disintegrating forces of ease and luxury proved too strong even for this strict sect, and in 1147 the Almoravids were overthrown by another bigoted sect imbued with equally stern principles who called themselves Almohads (Muwahhâdis). First Morocco was taken and then, crossing the straits, 'the followers of the Mahdi' succeeded in establishing their supremacy in Spain, but only after a severe struggle with the Christian armies. The Almohad régime was marked by great prosperity and Morocco became known as the Bagdad of the West.

But after more than half a century of wise rule the Almohads began to falter before the persistent attacks of the Christians, and internal dissensions completed their ruin. The great Muslim Empire became split up into three parts. Muhammadan Spain was reduced to the Huddite Kingdom of Granada with a line of ports round Cadiz, a Hafside dynasty was established in Barbary (Tunis and Tripoli), and a Merinite dynasty was established in Morocco at Fez (1269).¹

*Yusuf
defeats
the
Chris-
tians at
Zallakah
(1086)
Abubakr
subdues
Senegal*

*The Al-
mohads*

*The
Muslim
Empire
divides
into
Three*

¹ In 1237 a deputation from Kanem and Bornu came to the Hafside court at Tunis, bringing with it a giraffe which aroused great wonder.

For many years to come these three courts of Granada, Tunis, and Fez continued to reflect the brilliance of their Arab civilization, still far ahead of Northern Europe.

*Africa's
Debt to
the
Moors* Spain's loss was Africa's gain. The great influx into Africa at this time of Andalusians of Arab descent had a far-reaching effect on the civilization of North Africa. This, as we shall see, was reflected in the Sudan. Two famous Arab historians of the thirteenth century, Ibn Ghalib and Ibn Said, testify to the immense debt which Africa owes to the culture, refinement, and learning of this people which Spain saw fit to reject.

THE WESTERN SUDAN

1. *Its Initial Development*

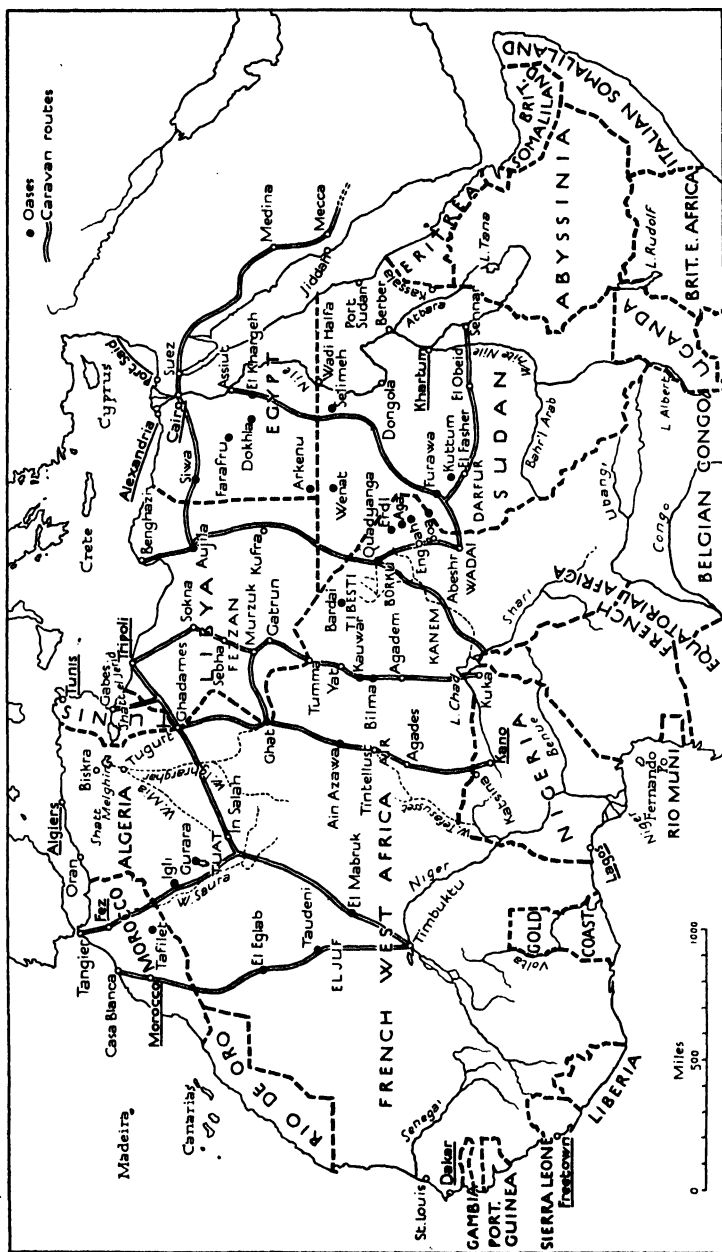
MEANWHILE, separated from this Arab dominion by a two or three months' journey through a cruel desert, lay the fertile savannah belt inhabited as yet by races of crude understanding and development. This country, which we may call the Western Sudan, was roughly divided into four natural areas. Starting from the west there was (1) the country to the south-west of the Senegal River, the supposed original home of the Jolofs; (2) the country to the north-east of this river comprising the ancient kingdom of Ghana; (3) the area enclosed by the bend of the Niger occupied by the Songhays and destined to bow the knee to the conquering dynasty of Malle, and (4) the countries to the east of the Niger up to Lake Chad, later to be known as the Hausa States.

*The
Western
Sudan*

Intercourse, commercial and social, between the Arab invaders of the Western Sudan and their kinsmen in Barbary and Morocco naturally resulted in opening up the arduous desert routes connecting these countries. There were three routes, two in the west and one in the east. According to Spanish-Arab authority the former were far more generally used, but it must be remembered that the westerly routes merely tapped the resources of the Sudan west of the Niger. The easterly route which connected Bornu and the eastern states with the outer world was probably equally frequented, especially later. The western routes both started from Tafilet in southern Morocco, but parting at Al Harib, the more westerly one visited the salt mines of Tegazza and went on to Ghana, while the other went to Audoghast, a fortnight's journey north of Timbuktu. The easterly route started from Augila in Tripoli and passing through Murzuk went to Kauwar in the Tebu country, whence one route continued to Lake Chad, the other branching off via Agades to Gao on the Niger.

*Routes
across
the
Desert*

With the interchange of trade which took place across the desert came an interchange of customs and ideas, so that in



Caravan routes in the Sudan

course of time the central Sudanese states became far more closely in touch with the highest civilization of the day than the countries of Northern Europe. El Bakri, a famous Arab *littérateur*, writing in 1050, says that there was then a considerable trade with the south, and that the westerly routes alone were used. In support of this he mentions the fact that Kanem was a very inaccessible country full of idolaters.

Audoghash was a white Berber settlement as opposed to the black Sudanese Ghana. But Ghana had a tradition of having been formerly ruled by a long succession of Berber or white kings.¹ During the tenth century Audoghash was the centre of a Berber Empire which extended to the Atlantic, but in the eleventh century Audoghash was conquered by Ghana and humbled itself before the black Sudanese conqueror.

Audoghash and Ghana

Hearing of this, in 1055 the hardy desert tribes who had collected together under the name of Almoravids (as mentioned before) came to Audoghash on their way north, and taught a terrible lesson to this Berber town for submitting to a Sudanese king.

Sack of Audoghash

It is open to question whether in those early days the Berbers of the Sahara had adopted the veil from which is derived their modern name Mulithamin, 'the veiled people'. To the Arabs they are also known as Tuaregs. According to one account they adopted the veil as a disguise when they were driven out of North Africa and have since retained it as a token.² Others consider it to be merely a protection against the heat and flies of the desert. Mr. Francis Rodd considers it is more likely to have some ceremonial significance of which the origin is now forgotten.³ Their women, as to-day, enjoyed great freedom and moved about unrestrained and unveiled.

The Veil

It is sometimes remarkable to think how little the dress, appearance, and customs of these people have changed since then. Reflection shows us, however, that there has been no occasion for change; they are a hardy, independent, warlike race, and like all nomads essentially conservative and not liable to be influenced by outside affairs.

¹ According to Masudi, Ghana was governed at a very early period by a race with Arab blood coming from Ethiopia.

² *Tarikh es Sudan*.

³ *The People of the Veil*.

2. *Ghana*¹

The Origin of Ghana Ghana, a town situated about fifteen days west of Timbuktu, was the capital of a kingdom called Ghanata, which was perhaps one of the oldest states in the Western Sudan of which we have any record. There are various legendary versions of the origin of its people. It is said that they used to call themselves Taurud. Some say that the Wangarawa claim Persian origin, but such conjecture must remain fantastic until more evidence is forthcoming. As we have mentioned, the earliest traditions of Ghana speak of a succession of 'white' kings, but in the eleventh century (1067) Ghana was a powerful kingdom under the rule of a Sudanese king called Tenkamenin. As in Bornu and many of the Hausa States the succession used to be through the king's sister, great importance being attached to uterine descent.

The *Tarikh es Sudan* says that the first prince reigning in the region of Ghana in Baghena was Kaya Maga. There were twenty-two kings before the Hijra and twenty-two after. The ruling classes of the Ghana people were a white race, Fulani according to Barth. The Wakore (Wangarawa) were subject to them. After them came Malle, a black people.

Two Towns, one Muslim, one Pagan It is interesting to read El Bakri's account of conditions of life in Ghana. It appears that the capital consisted of two distinct towns six miles apart, the one Muhammadan and the other pagan. The king and the court were pagan, but there was a very large Muslim element and for the most part the chief ministers were Muslims.

The Palace The king lived in a strong castle built of stone and wood, well decorated inside with pictures and sculptures and furnished with glass windows. The people wore handsome robes of silk or brocade. Gold abounded so that a court of some magnificence was maintained.

Burial Customs The funeral customs of the kings were interesting. When a king died he would be buried in a large tumulus together with his chief servants and all manner of articles such as he might be expected to need in the next world. The early Katsina kings

¹ In 1907 L. Desplagues discovered some two hundred miles west of Jenne numerous remains of a once extensive city which he identified as those of Ghana. The ruins lie twenty-five miles west of the Niger, on both banks of a small lake (marigot), and are about forty miles north-by-east of Kulikoro.

(the Durbawa) were also buried in tumuli, of which several can be seen to-day at Durbi ta Kusheyi.

For many years Ghana had been a prolific source of trade for the North African states, and large convoys of camels were continually arriving at the 'desert ports' of Tafilat,¹ Wargla, and Augila, which respectively supplied Morocco, Barbary, and Tripoli. We are told that the chief exports of Ghana included gold, slaves, skins, ivory, kola nuts, gum, honey, corn, and cotton, so that we get an illuminating glimpse of the immense resources of the country. We are also told of the activities of some of the trading companies which, like the modern European firms, did much to open the country. There was a regular system of taxation on exports and imports.

*Trade in
Ghana*

It must not be supposed that Ghana was the only important state in the Western Sudan at this time. There were several others which surrounded it: in particular Massina, mostly peopled by Berber Fulani, which lay to the south-east; the already mentioned desert kingdom to the west; and on the east Wangara, a large tract of country almost surrounded by the branches of the Niger. Massina was a little state which has always managed to maintain its integrity through many centuries of turmoil. Wangara was a flourishing country especially rich in gold and soon to come into greater prominence.

*Other
important
States*

At the beginning of the thirteenth century the power of Ghana was definitely on the decline. As far back as 1067 the avenging Abubakr at the head of his stern Almoravids had brought the fate of Audoghost to Ghana, and, visiting his wrath upon the Sudanese ruler, replaced him with a Berber king. This dynasty was destined to remain, and from now onwards, as one might expect, the king of Ghana was a Muslim and subject to the Khalif of Cairo.

*Decline
of Ghana
begins*

This change of dynasty, as usual in Sudanese states, made little difference to the life of the people. The country maintained its prosperity, and it was not until 1240, after several attacks by the king of Sosso, that the town was ultimately sacked and destroyed by a Wangara army.

The process of decline had been gradual. It was not the conquest of a powerful state by a more powerful one, but the

¹ or Sidjilmessa.

inevitable fall of a country which had grown too idly prosperous into the power of a more virile neighbour. This neighbour was shortly to develop into the Malle Empire. The history of these dynasties is a constant cycle of repetition. We see the hardy peasant, wrestling with nature for his scanty wants—a life entailing activity of body and a lusty arm. Time passes, and girding himself with high principles and stern resolves he ousts his overlord and tastes intoxicating power; a generation or so, and we find him comfortably prosperous, civilized, learned perhaps, self-indulgent more certainly, his arm no longer lusty, the art of war forgotten. His day comes, and it is another's turn to try out his virility with the critical test of power.

*History
repeats
itself*

3. Malle

At the end of the eleventh century El Mallel was an unimportant town on the bend of the Niger. Its kings had received Islam, probably from Abubakr's Almoravids; its people were pagan Wangarawa. The Wangarawa were western semi-Berbers, originally subject to Ghana. After being submerged by the Sanhaja Tuareg (A.D. 1000) and later by Sosso (A.D. 1240), they founded the new Wangara state of Malle with its centre south of modern Bamaku on the Niger. Hence Ghana and Malle were ethnically much the same; Songhay, on the contrary, was quite different. The Wangarawa played a big, if inconspicuous, part in the welding of the more primitive negroid tribes into states or kingdoms. Records are apt to deal only with the ruling families and to ignore their subject peoples.

*The
Wanga-
rawa*

More important than El Mallel in this vicinity were the towns of Jenne and Tekrur, the exact identity of which is vague; possibly they were one and the same town. Jenne was founded as early as 765, we are told, by the Songhays who inhabited the eastern tract of country in the bend of the Niger, and they made it the market of their empire.

*Jenne
and
Tekrur*

Malle began to make itself felt in the thirteenth century when one of its kings, Mari Zata or Prince Lion, overcame the king of Sosso and sacked Ghana.

*Mari
Zata
sacks
Ghana*

His successors, who incidentally counted their descent through the king's sister, all adopted the full title of Mansa or King.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century a usurper named

Sakora

Sakora extended his conquests to the east and captured the Songhay capital of Gao, at this time a prosperous but defenceless town.

His successor Mansa Musa, a very famous king and the greatest of them all, consolidated these conquests. He reigned for twenty-five years (1313-38), and during this time Malle reached the height of its glory.

Mansa Musa (1313-38)

In 1324 Mansa Musa made his celebrated pilgrimage to Mecca. It had for some time been the custom for the kings of Malle to make the pilgrimage, but this one seems to have eclipsed them all for its lavish display of wealth. We are told that 60,000 followers accompanied him, and to meet his expenses he took eighty camel-loads of gold, which apparently proved insufficient. While in Cairo Musa and his chiefs borrowed large sums of money from a banker named Siradj ad Din, thus showing that Malle's credit was good. However, the banker and his son were forced to come to Malle to recover the debt, and Siradj ad Din died in Malle; his son returned with the money safely. The brilliance of Mansa Musa's escort and equipage was unequalled, and it made a profound impression throughout the Muslim world. He set out from Malle by the westerly route through Walata¹ and returned by the easterly route through Gao, where he stayed long enough to build a great mosque. He had brought back with him a skilled Arab architect named Abu Ishak, who afterwards erected many magnificent buildings throughout the Malle domains. The Audience Chamber, which he built for Mansa Musa adjoining his palace in Malle, was a costly affair of stone and plaster, decorated and embellished with gold and silver plated on wood.

His Pilgrimage to Mecca

Musa's Mosque in Gao

Other Buildings

In 1330 Musa turned his eyes towards Timbuktu. According to Leo Africanus this town had been founded by a Sanhaja dynasty, i. e. by the descendants of Himyarites who had mixed with the Libyan Berbers. One gathers from Ibn Batuta that there remained in it a considerable population of Songhay origin when it was made into a summer camp by the Tuaregs after Abubakr's conquests in the middle of the eleventh century.

Timbuktu

¹ Ghana was now called Walata or Aiwalatin.

² The palace was called Ma-dugu or King's Palace (Mansa = king, Dugu = small town).—*Tarikh es Sudan*.

Here they used to come during the summer and dry season to pasture their flocks, retiring north to the Arawan uplands for the winter floods. It is only towards December that this part of the Niger begins to flood. By degrees the place attracted more permanent settlers, until, some years after, the traders of Jenne took to bringing hither their merchandise and taught the people how to make proper houses with bricks.

Mansa Musa occupies Timbuktu (1330) An extensive trade sprang up with Ghana and the North African states. Gradually, with the breaking up of Ghana, Timbuktu assumed a new greatness. Early in the fourteenth century the inhabitants had become so increasingly angered by the exorbitant taxes imposed by their governor that in 1330 they welcomed the occupation of the town by Mansa Musa.

Soon after this, however, the town was pillaged by the Mossi from the south. On their withdrawal it was repossessed by Malle, and remained in their hands for a hundred years.¹

Under the Tuaregs (1434) In 1434, when the power of Malle had almost waned, the Tuaregs reoccupied the town, and for half a century subjected the town to so much brutal oppression that once again a deliverer was sought in the person of Sonni Ali from Songhay, who captured it in 1469. *Under Songhay (1469)* Under Songhay it was to reach its greatest splendour; with the fall of that empire its decadence was rapid.

Musa's Statesmanship Before leaving Timbuktu Mansa Musa erected a stone palace and presented a minaret to the Sankore Mosque. He did much to raise the prestige of the Sudanese in the eyes of the world. He sent a deputation to the Merinite Court at Fez to congratulate Abu'l Hassan on his conquest of Telemsan. A magnificent present was returned which reached Malle just after Musa's death (1338), but cordial relations continued to exist between the north and the south for many years. All historians are agreed that Mansa Musa was a brilliant ruler, distinguished alike for his wisdom and statesmanship—a man beyond reproach.

Mansa Suleiman (1338-62) He was succeeded by Mansa Suleiman, who reigned for

¹ Another version is that the Mossi captured the town in the thirteenth century and that the town was built by an early Malle king in the same century. It is also said that Musa defeated the Mossi.

twenty-four years (1338–62). It was during his reign that the celebrated traveller Ibn Batuta visited Malle, and he has left us a most illuminating description of contemporary life in the Sudan.

He observed that the judicial system, which was separate from the executive, was singularly pure, and that he had seen no country with less injustice. The individual enjoyed a remarkable degree of security from thieves or bandits throughout the length and breadth of the country. At first he was treated rather coldly and he was much incensed, but later in Gao he greatly modified his earlier impressions and became a warm admirer.

*Ibn Ba-
tuta's
Visits to
Malle*

If a well-travelled stranger like Ibn Batuta, with his exceptional experience of the world and with no innate desire to praise this country, writes in these terms we may feel fairly positive that we need not discount his descriptions as we should have had to do had they been written by local historians with their customary embellishments.

The Malle Empire extended to the north until it was contemporaneous with the civilized states of North Africa. It reached from Walata in the west to Gao in the east, beyond which its influence was not much felt, as Bornu and Hausaland got their civilization by the easterly routes. It was subdivided into provinces, each under a governor (Ferba). But there were many districts ruled over by 'Kois' who were native and subject kings tributary to Malle. The Koi derived his revenue by being allotted one-third of the taxes.

*Adminis-
tration*

There was a well-organized army consisting of cavalry and infantry, properly officered and trained. Religious life was particularly healthy; the mosques were regularly attended and generally full. The country was fertile and populous, rich in cattle, corn, and cotton. European goods received a ready sale, and gold, cotton, slaves, ivory, skins, and kola nuts were traded with the north. Gold was particularly plentiful.

*The
Army
Religion*

*Com-
merce*

In 1362 Mansa Djata succeeded Mansa Suleiman, and during his reign the kingdom rapidly declined. Where his fore-runners had been economical, he was an incorrigible spendthrift, and on his death from sleeping sickness, in 1374, Malle was no longer a power of first importance.

*Decline
of Malle
under
Mansa
Djata
(1362–
74)*

Already in 1355 Songhay had asserted its independence, and

Kanem although a far older state than Malle, was only now about to
and come into a prominence which eclipsed all previous and succeeding
Songhay empires in the Sudan. To the east, however, there was the great rival empire of Kanem, which had attained considerable prosperity by the twelfth century and earlier. These two protagonists were to face each other across the Hausa States for many years to come.

KANEM AND THE BORNU EMPIRE

AS far as we can gather from available sources of information early Kanem history may be divided into two periods.

(1) A.D. 800 to A.D. 1250.

During this period the country was invaded at various times by Berbers from the east and north. The Bayajidda invasion of Hausaland was part and parcel of these Berber migrations.¹ The first king of Kanem is said to have been Sef.

*First
Period
(800-
1250)*

Mr. Palmer writes:

That the Sefawa actually supplanted a former dynasty in Kauwar is affirmed by the Teda themselves, and we have reason to think that this took place about 850 A.D. From that time onwards the Sefawa and Teda tribes allied to them gradually conquered the southern fringes of the Sahara as far west as the Niger on the one hand, and east to Wadai on the other.

*Con-
quest of
Southern
Fringes
of Sa-
hara by
Sefawa*

Concerning Kauwar, the following legend is quoted in Capt. Buchanan's *Sahara*, and quoted again in Mr. Palmer's *Sudanese Memoirs*, vol. i.

The first people of Kauwar were Ses from the Fezzan. Legend declares they were a very big race, while it is claimed . . . that skeletons of these giants . . . are still to be seen in the Fezzan.

In due course the Sultan of the Beri Beri came to Bulma and asked the Sultan of the Ses for permission to settle there with his people. Whereupon the great king took a wand, and extending it, turned slowly round so that he formed a mighty circle, the edge of which extended to Yeggebba in Northern Kauwar, and to Dibbella in the south: and within that area the Beri Beri were permitted to live.

In 800 A.D. there came a great invasion of Beri Beri who were Muslims. They came from Yemen by way of the Fezzan and Kauwar.

Some think that Sef was the son of the last of the Himyarite kings or at least a Himyarite descendant. According to Mr. Palmer both Saif ibn Dhi Yazan and his son Ibrahim were to all intents and purposes a myth, and the first real Mai of Kanem was Mai Dugu Bremmi.

The first rulers, known in Bornu as Sefawa, were chiefs who

¹ See p. 69.

Origin of the Sef-awa lived in tents and ruled over nomads. Their ancestor, whoever he was, had married a woman of the Berber tribe of Kayi, a branch of the peoples now called Zaghawa and Beli (Bideyat). The earliest rulers or Mais were undoubtedly white, that is Berbers, who counted descent through their mothers. Most Arab authorities agree that the Sefawa belonged to the tribe of Zaghawa.

The Zaghawa These Zaghawa were a nomadic race of Hamitic origin akin to the modern Tuareg races living on the southern fringe of the desert. They absorbed, and in part ruled over, the negro populations of the plains of Bornu wherever they came in contact with them, just as another nomadic race, the Fulani, became the ruling class many centuries later. They conquered the Teda or Tebu races which lay to the north of them. Gradually the power of Kanem matured, Njimi being the capital, until at the beginning of the twelfth century we find the thirteenth chief, Dunama son of Hume, extending his influence as far as Egypt. Islam had been received in the country during the preceding century and it is claimed that it came direct from the Khalif.¹ During the thirteenth century, in the reign of Dunama Dabalemi, Kanem reached great heights of prosperity and her influence was felt from the Nile to the Niger, from Fezzan to Dikwa.

About this time Ibn Khaldun mentions the receipt by one of the Hafside princes of Tunis of a giraffe from the King of Kanem and Master of Bornu, the name which was now introduced to describe the southern part of the kingdom from Lake Chad to Dikwa.

(2) 1250 to 1470.

Second Period (1250-1470) The second period opens at the zenith of Kanem's glory, but almost at once, before the death of Dunama Dabalemi, decay began to set in. The Berber invaders, with Teda admixture, had now become the Kanuri nation. A series of civil wars played havoc with the empire.

Meanwhile, external influences were playing their part. Islam had received a severe check in Spain in 1213, which greatly weakened the hitherto powerful North African influences in

¹ Hume was the first Muslim king. His son Dunama was drowned near Suez while on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Kanem. The Mamelukes asserted themselves in Egypt and a separate Khalifate had been established in Tunis. But most serious of all was the sack of Bagdad by the Tartars, an event which shook the very foundations of Islam, and diverted a great flood of Islamic learning into Africa.

*Sack of
Bagdad
and Di-
version of
Islamic
Learning
into
Africa
The
Sef
Dynasty
driven
out of
Kanem*

Towards the end of the fourteenth century (c. 1389) the Sef dynasty, after a long struggle, was driven out of Kanem by the Kayi or Bulala, a kindred tribe from Lake Fitri. The culminating result was that the Kanuri nation advanced west of Lake Chad, and later we find them as the rivals of Malle and Songhay. Hausaland was to be the buffer in between, and we shall find it alternately paying tribute to one or the other.

Previous to this expulsion, the So, representing a powerful group of tribes to the south which had been formerly subjugated, had broken into rebellion and killed four kings in succession. It was not until some time in the latter half of the fifteenth century (c. 1470), after occupying a succession of temporary capitals, that the famous Mai Ali Ghaji Dunamami founded Birni¹ N'gazargamu on the River Yo as the capital of Bornu and of the Kanuri nation.

It remained the capital for three hundred years, despite the fact that Njimi was reoccupied about the middle of the sixteenth century.

Under Mai Ali Ghaji came a tremendous revival of prosperity and power. His son Idris Katagarmabe, about the year 1507, one hundred and twenty lunar years after Mai Omar had been driven out of Njimi, reoccupied that capital with a victorious army and henceforth Kanem became a province of the Bornu Empire instead of, as formerly, Bornu being a province of the Kanem Empire. The capital, however, remained at N'gazargamu, for Njimi had been left deserted all these years, and the new capital was more conveniently situated, both for slave raiding and as a trade centre.

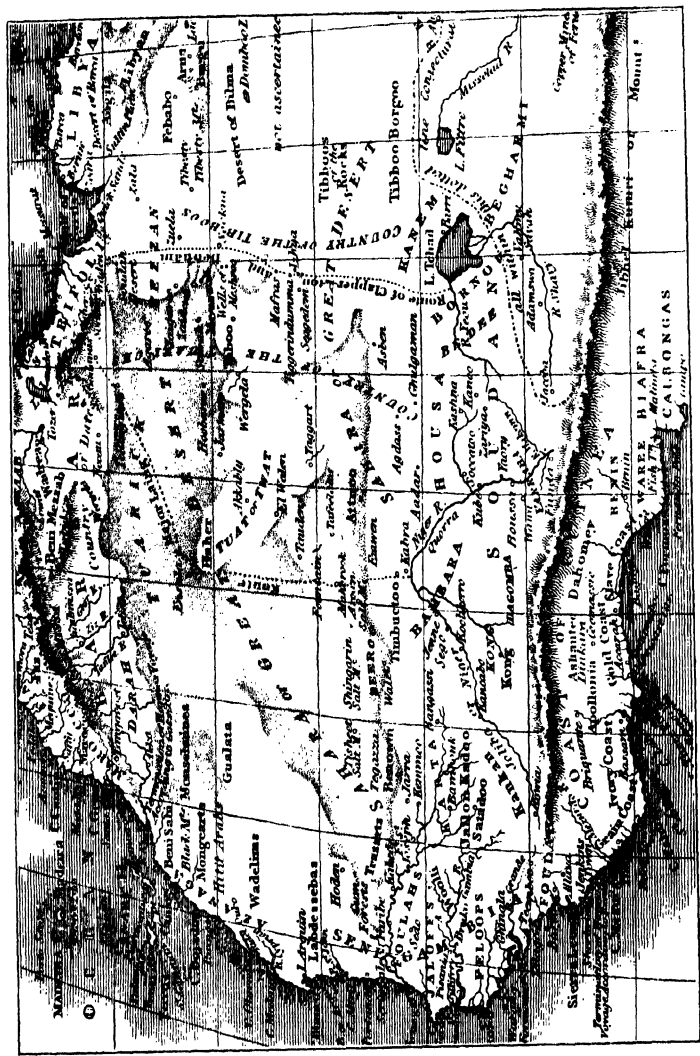
*Kanem
a Pro-
vince of
the
Bornu
Empire*

The new kingdom of Bornu (without Kanem)—more correctly Bar-anu² (i. e. place of the Bar-an, or Barbars)—was at first of very small extent, hardly larger than the present district of

Bornu

¹ From this came the familiar name for a similar type of town, i. e. built with sun-dried mud bricks.

² Some say that Bahr Nuh, the sea of Noah, is the derivation of Bornu.



An old engraving (1800-30) to illustrate how inaccessible the Western Sudan was conceived to be until recent times

Geidam. To the west and south-west were pagan negroes of different kinds till one reached Kano¹ and what is now Bauchi and Gombe, at that time dominated by the Kwararafa.

The sixteenth century saw a great accession of power to Bornu comparable to that of the glorious days of Dunama Dabalemi. In the reign of the famous Mai Idris Alooma at the end of this century all the neighbouring tribes were subdued and conquest followed conquest. In sharp contrast was the fall of Bornu's great rival empire in the west, when Songhay was conquered by the Empire of Morocco in 1592, and, as we shall see, the channels of civilizing influences in the west were henceforth completely choked with chaos and lawlessness until right up to modern times.

During this eventful century Mai Ali had made war with Kanta, Askia's rebellious governor, who had established the kingdom of Kebbi, even besieging him in his capital at Surame. He was hotly pressed, however, by Kanta on his return home and defeated at Ngaru, although indecisively. Ali's successor, Idris, as we have seen, had subdued the Bulala of Kanem. His successor Muhammad (1526-45) carried on the war against Kebbi, and the kingdom of Bornu reached the highest pitch of its greatness. Dunama (1546-63) reconquered the Bulala, and Kanem once more remained quiet. In the reign of Abdullah (1564-70) we first hear of Fulani settlers in Bornu.

But Idris Alooma was the outstanding figure of the century. History records that like many famous men before and since, he owed much of his greatness to his mother, the 'Magira', Aisa Kili N'girmaramm, a very distinguished woman. The most important person in the Kanuri state after the Mai himself was the Magira or Queen Mother, who was an official personage and not necessarily the actual mother of the Mai; next to her was the Magaram, his official 'elder sister'. The Magira was responsible for the Mai's food, and could prevent him from doing any act of which she disapproved. The Magaram had control over all the Mai's sons, who were brought up from birth in her house, and, when old enough, sent out to different parts of Bornu and not allowed to reside at the capital.

Not long after Idris Alooma's accession he appears to have

¹ At that time a mere stockade at the foot of the Dala rock.

sent an embassy to Tripoli on the advice of the Magira, a wise act which probably accounted for his acquiring a number of musketeers who rendered him invaluable service in his subsequent wars. He first subdued the So, and then the various towns and settlements of Kano, although he could not actually capture Dala. There followed the subjugation of the Berbers of Air, and the Teda or Tebu in the north, which secured his communications with the coast. After this he made successful expeditions against Mandara and many other tribes, not forgetting to make frequent visits to Kanem. With all his conquests, he found time to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. As a fitting end he was killed in action. He was buried in Alo Lake, near Maiduguri.

Death of Idris Alooma The reign of Idris Alooma can in every way compare with the glorious reigns of Sonni Ali and his successor, the Askia, in the rival western Empire of Songhay. In each case much of the credit must go to their worthy prime ministers. In character Idris Alooma receives equal eulogy with Askia from his biographers; we are told that 'his warlike energy was combined with mildness and intelligence; his courage with circumspection and patience; his severity with pious feelings'.¹

Two Centuries of Decline After Idris Alooma's death in 1602 came two centuries of inactivity and decline. It is recorded that Ali (1645-84), who thrice made the pilgrimage to Mecca, had the wit, when besieged in his capital at the same time by the Tuareg and by the Kwararafa, to set one against the other, and then destroyed them both. The Kwararafa had long been subject to Bornu.

During the eighteenth century there appear to have been frequent famines of long duration, one of seven years being recorded. One can only surmise that these were signs of material poverty and unrest.²

¹ Barth's *Travels* (Appendix, vol. ii).

² For the History of Bornu in the nineteenth century see Chapter XVII.

THE SONGHAY EMPIRE

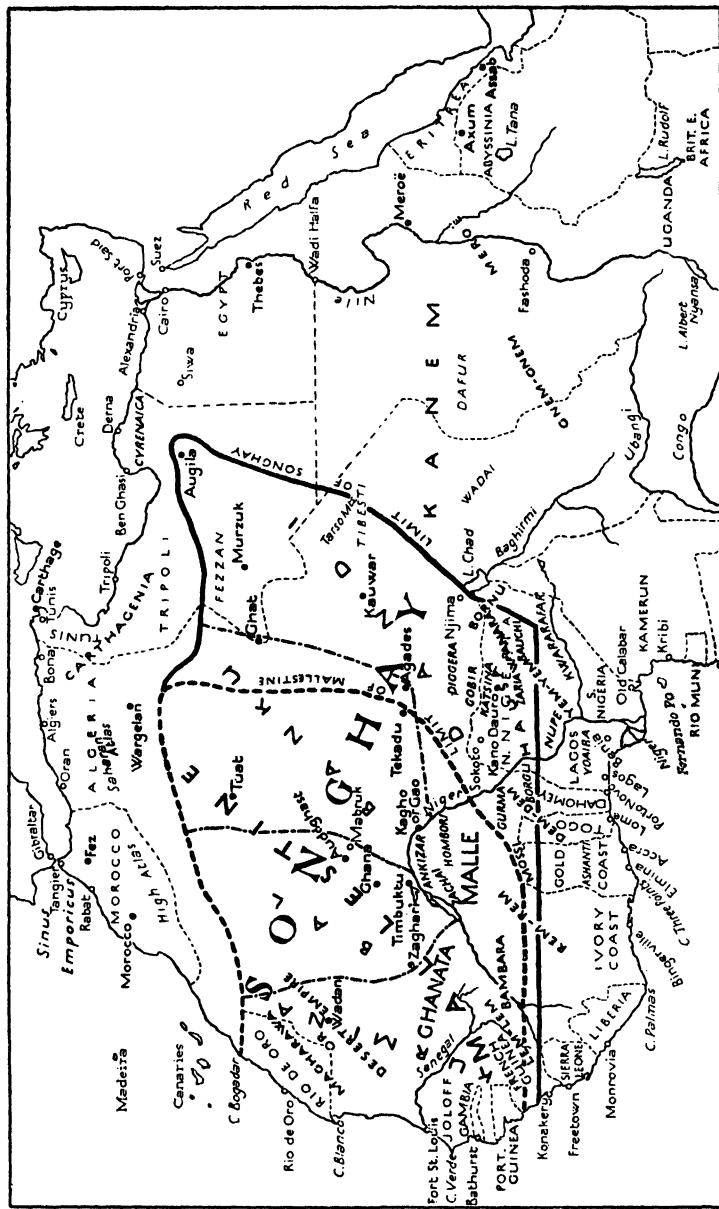
THE first king of the Songhay people was called Za Alayaman, *Za Alayamen* said to be a corruption from the Arabic for 'He has come from Yemen'. Legend had it that long ago two brothers started out from Yemen in Arabia, and travelling westwards they eventually arrived, worn out with hardships, at a town called Kokia on the banks of a large river. It is surmised that this town was in Egypt and the river was the Nile. Here the people used to worship a fish. Za Alayaman killed it, and became king.

It is thought that the Songhays migrated westwards out of Egypt some time during the seventh century when the country was overrun by Arab conquerors. Being a peaceful people they struck out in search of new pastures where they would be free from molestation, and leaving the great deserts on their right they finally came to the fertile valley of the Niger. Gratefully recognizing a country and Nilotic type of civilization recalling that which they had left, they brought their wanderings to an end. *Origin*

The Dendi region of Songhay contains many places which show remarkable similarity to Bornu Berber names. There was no conquest to account for it, so that the only conclusion to be drawn is that Dendi must have been occupied at some time by Eastern Berbers, or Zaghawa, who were the early kings of Kanem. Their coming to Dendi (Songhay) is thought to have coincided with the well-known Hausa legend of the Kisra migration which is held responsible for Illo, Bussa, and also Kwararafa. The Songhay rulers, therefore, were Berbers from the east, and their subjects were the indigenous populations of the Niger valley.

Jenne, on the western borders, became the market of their empire and Gao their capital. *Jenne* Jenne has a remarkable boast that she alone among the cities of the Sudan has never been taken or sacked.¹ The modern appearance of the town bears this out. She stands in an impregnable position on high banks surrounded

¹ But Sonni Ali certainly caused Jenne to capitulate after a seven years' siege and married the mother of the young king of Jenne. It is said that Jenne is the origin of the word Guinea. Others say that Guinea was derived from



The Songhay Empire at its greatest extent—sixteenth century

by water. Her houses are clearly imitations in wood and clay of the stone architecture found in ancient Egypt, and many of her arts, such as boat-building, show unmistakable Hamitic influences.

Hitherto our authorities have been Western Arab writers, but now we are indebted to a local work, the *Tarikh es Sudan*. This remarkable work was written in Timbuktu by Abdurrahman Es Sadi, who was born in 1596. He was a black Imam in Timbuktu and had been a notary in Jenne. It was completed by Ahmed Baba, an older man, who was born in 1556; he was carried captive to Morocco by the Moors, but was allowed to return to Timbuktu in 1607. Es Sadi had a Hausa mother and his great-great-grandfather was a Berber who married a Fulani woman, and had also been Imam in Timbuktu.

*The
'Tarikh
es Su-
dan'*

The kings of Songhay comprised three dynasties, the Za, the Sonni, and the Askia.

The successors of Za Alayaman numbered thirty and reigned over a period of six hundred years (700-1335). The first king to accept Islam was Za Kosoi in 1009. During the latter part of this period of the Za dynasty the Songhay kingdom came under the rule of Malle. Let the *Tarikh* tell the story of how the Sonni dynasty was ushered in.

*The Za
Dynasty*

As he is the first Sonni, Ali Kolon's story is as follows. Employed by the king of Malle, he lived near him with his brother Selman-Nar. Both were sons of Za Yosiboi, and Selman's name was originally Seliman, but altered thus by reason of the barbarous language of these peoples.

*The
Sonni
Dynasty:
Ali
Kolon*

The mothers of Ali and Selman were two full sisters. Omma was the name of Ali Kolon's mother, and Fati the name of Selman's. The latter was the favourite wife. In spite of numerous conceptions she had no children, and as she despaired of having any, she said to her husband, 'Marry my sister Omma. Perhaps she will give you an heir, which I have been unable to do'. Za Yosiboi took his wife's advice. He ignored the law which forbade the marrying of two sisters by one husband. God willed that these two women should conceive on the same night, and on the same night they were each delivered of a son. The two new-born infants were placed on the ground in

Gana-Gana, an ancient port on the banks of the Niger, above Forcados. Yet others identify Guinea with Ghana. The first explanation, however, seems the most probable.

a dark place. It was only in the morning that they were washed, according to the custom when a child was born in the night. The first washed was Ali Kolon, and because of this fact he was considered the elder. As for Selman-Nar, whose washing followed, he was for this reason declared the younger.

When the two children were sufficiently old the Sultan of Malle took them with him.¹ At this time, to be exact, these princes were his vassals, and it was customary for the sons of dependent kings to be attached to their suzerain. It holds to this day in all the kingdoms of the Sudan. Of these young people some used to return after a term of service, others continued to their death living near to their lord and master.

While these two princes were at the court of the King of Malle, at one time or another Ali Kolon used to sally forth on some profitable expedition (to learn the art of war and to fill his pockets). Ali Kolon, who was a very capable and resourceful man, used always to take a different route in order to make himself well acquainted with all the roads to and from Songhay. His scheme was to flee one day to his country and make himself independent. To this end he secretly made all preparations, and concealed such arms and stores as he was likely to need on the roads. When these arrangements were completed, Ali Kolon took aside his brother and confided to him his secret plans. Having seen to the feeding of their horses to prepare them to stand the fatigue of a long journey, the two brothers set out for Songhay. Advised of their flight, the King of Malle sent in pursuit to kill them. Every time that they were closely pressed the brothers turned and fought off their pursuers. In these frequent fights the brothers always had the advantage, and without further stoppage they succeeded in gaining their country.

Ali Kolon became king of the Songhay country. He called himself *Sonni*,² and delivered his subjects from the yoke of Malle. On his death Selman-Nar succeeded him. The limits of his kingdom did not go beyond the town precincts until the reign of Sonni Ali, the great Kharedjiite king, of whom more anon.

Sonni Ali
(1464-93) Sonni Ali the Second was the last of the Sonni dynasty and the greatest. He reigned from 1464 to 1493, and during his lifetime the Songhay Empire assumed enormous proportions. He had all the qualities of a great soldier, and in twenty years he suffered scarcely a reverse.

¹ Mansa Musa returned from his pilgrimage to Mecca via Gao (1325), and on proceeding to Malle he took these two boys with him.

² *Sonni* means Liberator.

His first achievement was to conquer Timbuktu, which just over thirty years previously had been recovered from Malle by the Tuaregs. Malle had withdrawn her domination, but the administration of the town remained as before in the hands of the Koi, or governor, who was in this instance a widely respected man. On his death, however, the Tuaregs got out of hand and the new Koi sent secretly to Sonni Ali offering him every assistance if he would march against the town. Ali accepted with alacrity, but at the last minute the Koi's assistance failed him, and it was a very enraged and vengeful general who finally took the town by assault, in 1469.

*His Con-
quest of
Tim-
buktu*

The *Tarikh es Sudan* has therefore, rather naturally, little praise to give Sonni Ali. According to Es Sadi he was apparently nothing but a bloodthirsty ruffian: 'As for this master tyrant, this celebrated scoundrel, Sonni Ali, wicked, vicious, unjust, a bloodthirsty extortioner, he killed God alone knows how many people. He persecuted the learned and pious, aiming at their lives, their honour, and their respect.' It goes on to tell how he ravaged, burned, and sacked Timbuktu, slaughtering many. A large number of the learned professors, hearing of Sonni's arrival, had hastily decamped on camels.

On the day of departure were seen old and bearded men, trembling with fright at having to mount a camel and falling off again when the animal got up. Our good ancestors, you see, used to keep their children tied to their apron-strings, with the result that the children grew up knowing nothing of life, because even when they were young they had never played games. Now this is the time when games mould a man and teach him a great number of things. The parents realized their error, and later when they returned to Timbuktu they let their children have time to play, and relaxed their former restraint.

At Alfa-a-Konko there was a great massacre, 'so that to this day the rainfall is insufficient for crops'. But some of the scholars Sonni chose to honour, on one occasion sending them a great number of female captives as concubines. 'Those who no longer observed the duties of their religion made them indeed their concubines, but those who faithfully followed its precepts took them in marriage.'

*Scholars
at the
Sankore
Univer-
sity*

The greatness of Timbuktu coincided with the greatness of Songhay. The *Tarikh* contains a long list of distinguished scholars at the Sankore University in Timbuktu, with their attainments. Among them we notice Al Hadj Ahmed, who went to Mecca in 1485. He left seven hundred books in his library. On his return he visited Kano and other Sudanese towns. Makhluḥ ben Ali was a geographer who had travelled throughout the Sudan. He went to Kano and Katsina, and died in 1533 of poisoning in Morocco. Aida Ahmed was a learned man who, having come back from Mecca, settled in Katsina, where he was honourably treated and made a judge. He died in 1530. Another was Muhammad ben Mahmud ben Abukr, whose generosity was proverbial. He never refused to lend a book even to strangers, and in this manner lost many valuable works. These constitute only a small portion of the list taken at random.

*Persecu-
tion of
the
Scholars*

For three years Sonni Ali wreaked his vengeance by persecuting the learned with systematic barbarity, after which time his wrath somewhat abated. Although nominally a Muhammadan, he incensed the pious divines of Timbuktu by his blasphemous behaviour. His mother is said to have been originally a pagan from the neighbourhood of what is to-day Sokoto.

He had a violent and ungovernable temper, but the outburst was often followed by remorse. He owed much to the temperate counsels of his prime minister, Muhammad Abubakr at Turi, a pure-blooded negro and a man of remarkable sagacity, who for thirty eventful years succeeded in blending Ali's wild brilliance with his own devout integrity. He was later to become king himself, and his long experience stood him in good stead.

*Siege of
Jenne*

From Timbuktu Sonni Ali marched against Jenne, which had emancipated itself from Songhay at the time when Malle was asserting her dominion over the last of the Zas. The town honourably capitulated after a siege lasting seven years, seven months, and seven days. The *Tarikh* says 'This town is great, flourishing and prosperous; it is rich, blessed by Heaven and

¹ Timbuktu was under these rules up to the publication of the *Tarikh* (1654):

| | | |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| 1336-1433 | Under Malle: | 97 years. |
| 1433-1468 | „ Tuaregs: | 35 „ |
| 1468-1493 | „ Sonni Ali: | 25 „ |
| 1493-1591 | „ Askias: | 98 „ |
| 1591-1654 | „ Moors: | 63 „ |

favoured by God'. It goes on to say that the inhabitants were kind and hospitable, but inclined to be envious of fortune. It was a great market for the Muslim world and a centre of trade. The river flooded in August and subsided in February. The district was extremely populous. Jenne maintained twelve army corps to the east and twelve to the west to protect herself against Malle, with whom she had eighty-nine battles, in all of which she was successful. In reading this eulogy we must not forget that Es Sadi had been a notary for some years in Jenne.

There follows another long list of the notables and savants of Jenne, to many of whom are attached strange legends illustrating the powerful miracles of Allah. It serves to show that Jenne was a seat of learning little short of Timbuktu.

Sonni Ali had now command of the whole of the great waterway of the Sudan, the middle Niger. He repulsed the strong forces of Mossi to the south, of Hombori in the bend of the river, and of Kebbi to the east, and then established a strong fleet on the river near Timbuktu.

*Extent
of Sonni
Ali's
Con-
quests*

Meanwhile, the king of Mossi had crossed over to the left bank of the river, and was overrunning Malle and threatening Aiwalatin. Sonni Ali descended on him and forced him to withdraw and abandon his plunder. This campaign virtually settled the supremacy of Sonni Ali over the decaying Malle Empire.

*Con-
quest of
Mossi*

He now started the daring scheme of building a canal from Timbuktu to Aiwalatin to make the latter town more accessible, but he was interrupted by the news of further depredations by the Mossi. He thereupon carried his arms into the heart of the pagan belt and ruthlessly subdued Mossi and the neighbouring mountain territory. With the west and south to heel he turned his attention to the east, and conducted a campaign against Borgu, but with only partial success. The Borgu native still possesses a great reputation for fighting and it is still his boast that he has never been conquered.

On his return from Borgu to Gao, Sonni Ali was accidentally drowned while crossing a small tributary of the Niger.

*Death of
Sonni Ali*

As we have seen, his memory is not preserved by Sudanese writers save in terms of abuse. They cannot forgive the way he treated the savants of Timbuktu, the ruthlessness attendant

on his conquests, nor his disregard for religious and social prejudices. Nevertheless, he was a brilliant soldier and an able administrator.

The Askia Dynasty: Muhammad Abubakr When Sonni Ali's minister, Muhammad Abubakr, heard the news of his master's death he determined to seize the throne himself, and after some bloody fighting with Sonni Ali's son he managed to establish himself as king, thus initiating the third and last Songhay dynasty (1494-1591).

(1494-1591) He proclaimed himself Askia, or the Usurper, and Askia became the royal title of the Songhay kings. Sonni Ali's daughters are supposed to have suggested to him this title by their anguished cries of '*Askia! Askia!*' (It is not he!) when they heard of the fate of Sonni Ali's son and saw Muhammad Abubakr instead.

Consolidation of the Empire The new king now set about consolidating the empire that Sonni Ali had acquired. In contrast to his predecessor he lost no opportunity of showing his religious zeal, and identified his interests with those of the most devout and pious. Having won the confidence of the intelligentsia it was not difficult to justify his usurpation of the throne as a jihad against unholy and blasphemous practices. In 1497, with the legitimacy of his rule still worrying him, he left his brother in charge of the kingdom and set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca and Cairo. Having shown the necessary lavishness in Mecca and Medina, he proceeded to Cairo to seek formal investiture at the hands of the Khalif, the religious head of the Muhammadan world. After certain formalities the Khalif consented and Askia Muhammad's conscience was allayed. While in Cairo, he and the distinguished Songhays with him took every opportunity of meeting the foremost scholars and statesmen of the day. From their counsels the Songhay Empire was to benefit in no small degree.

Social Reforms During the first years of his reign Askia effected a great religious revival, and on all sides mosques were rebuilt and schools founded. He completely won the confidence and assistance of the religious leaders. He instituted a standing army, thus doing much to lessen the burden of war, which in the days of Sonni Ali and conscription had fallen so heavily on the populace. The civil population could now turn its undivided attention to trade and commerce, and it was not long before the

prosperity of the country began to increase noticeably. After his return from Cairo, Askia inaugurated a regular system of market inspectors, which guaranteed honest measure and fair dealings. European goods in large quantities began to find their way into the country.

Politically, he completely reorganized the empire. It was divided up into four provinces, apart from the home districts, which comprised the country lying in the bend of the River Niger. The first province, Dandi, lay to the south-east, spreading from Agades to Bornu, and included the Hausa States. The second, the province of Banku, included the desert to the north-east of Gao. The third, called Bal, took in the desert to the north-west of Timbuktu and reached from the salt mines of Tegazza in the far north right down to Aiwalatin. The fourth province, of Kurmina, lay to the south-west, including the Fulani of Massina, the dismembered remains of Malle, and the pagan Bambara.

*Political
Reforms*

This decentralization proved a masterpiece of administration. All the Governors of the four provinces as well as the prominent men in the State were either chosen from the royal family or married to its princesses, with the object of strengthening the bonds of loyalty and mutual concord. History, however, records that this procedure has not always produced the desired end; the jealousy of rival claimants for honour or precedence has often brought disaster.

Civilization made great strides; the study of law flourished, systems of banking and credit improved, spacious buildings of tasteful design began to arise, habits of dress became more elegant; in short, the Sudan began to awake from its animal sleep and to absorb the culture and refining influences of the Mediterranean. All this was due to Askia al Hadj, and made possible by the Cairo visit. He spared no pains to raise the level of Songhay life to the level of that of Egypt; he modelled his court and dress on that of the Khalif, but his religious zeal led him to put an end to free intercourse of men and women; he inflicted on the latter the veil, and relegated them to the harem. The system of absolute seclusion and segregation of the sexes did not become general, even in Bagdad, until the close of the tenth century, under Kadir b'illah, who is said to have

*Intro-
duction
of Ori-
ental
Customs*

done more to stop the progress of the Muslim world than any other sovereign.

Spread of Learning Learning, too, received a great impetus. At Timbuktu the University of Sankore became the centre of Muslim learning in Africa. Here, many years before, men of saintly and scholarly bent had collected within the precincts of the mosque, and the dissemination of the Scriptures, letters, and science became their life's work, just as it used to be with the monks in Europe. Gradually this group of learned men attracted the attention of professors from Moorish Spain and from the Universities of Fez, Tunis, and Cairo; ideas and learning were exchanged to such a degree that in course of time pupils came to Timbuktu in increasing numbers. To illustrate the standard of learning reached in the University of Sankore it is interesting to note in the *Tarikh* that 'a celebrated lawyer of Hedjaz, arriving in Timbuktu with the intention of teaching, found the town full of Sudanese scholars. Seeing that they were superior to him in learning he returned to Fez, where he succeeded in obtaining employment'. Each savant generally, but not always, followed his special vocation. Some practised law, others gave themselves to religion, and a great number devoted themselves to the art of teaching. There was no more valued thing in Timbuktu than a book, and infinite care and toil were devoted to collecting together libraries which became beyond price. In this manner the Arabic language and culture began to find their way into the borders of the neighbouring countries, many of which were still primitive.

*Educ-
tion* It is recorded that the sons of the Songhay kings used to leave the palace in Gao to receive an education in Timbuktu. Here they rubbed shoulders with rich and poor alike in a common search after knowledge. Among the subjects taught were rhetoric, logic, eloquence, and diction (to enable a student to expound the word of God), Maliki law, grammar, astronomy, history, and geography. Mathematics was somewhat neglected, and medicine relied largely on faith-cures.

*Cam-
paigns* But though Askia was a wise administrator, he could not resist a craving for conquests, and while his own country flourished he laid the neighbouring lands waste with fire and sword. He was a commander of unusual ability, as he

had proved to Sonni Ali. His chief general was his brother Omar, and hardly a year passed without a campaign. The first was a holy war against the pagan Mossi in the south, which was an unqualified success. He then subdued the Fulani in the south-west and turned his attention to the complete conquest of Malle. This proved an arduous but not insuperable task, and after twelve years of bloodshed (1501-13), what remained of Malle was under the conqueror's heel. There followed a campaign against Borgu, which, as usual, was very severe. In 1512-13 Askia marched against the Hausa States. He first captured Katsina¹ and then overran the rich provinces of Zamfara and Zaria. In a little while he took Kano and conquered Gobir, making them all tributary to Songhay. Two years later, despite a short resistance, Agades shared the same fate.

It was after this campaign that Kanta, one of Askia's greatest chiefs, revolted because, it is said, of some real or fancied slight connected with the division of the spoils. To quote the *Tarikh*: 'Where is our booty?' demanded Kanta's men. 'Why don't you claim it?' 'I am told that if I do I shall be treated as a rebel, and I don't want to be a rebel all by myself,' was the reply. 'We will all be rebels together,' said they. 'That is all I wanted to hear,' said Kanta. He set himself up as an independent chief in Kebbi, a large district between Zamfara and the Niger, and successfully resisted all attempts at subjugation. Kanta

The latter part of Askia's thirty-six-year reign seems to have been comparatively peaceful. He owed much to his loyal and devoted minister Ali Fulan, who, during the length of his reign, had supported him even as he, Askia, had stood by Sonni Ali. Ali Fulan died later in Kano on his way to Mecca. Ali
Fulan

After sixty-six eventful years of statesmanship the old Askia, now blind and decrepit, was deposed by his eldest son, Musa, in 1528. The title Askia was adopted by all the succeeding rulers of Songhay. Fearing the intrigues of his numerous brothers, Musa set about getting rid of them, but in 1532 he was himself assassinated and was succeeded by one of the great Askia's nephews, Bankuri. He, too, continued the work of destruction, and even removed the old Askia from his comfortable palace at Gao and relegated him to a miserable little Musa
(1528-32)

Bankuri

¹ Possibly Katsina Laka, to the south of Zamfara, see p. 91.

Death of Askia
(1538) island in the Niger. But in 1536 Askia's son, Ismail, the Governor of Dandi, drove out Bankuri and brought his father back to Gao, where he ended his days in peace.

Of the remaining five Askias only one stands out, namely, Askia Daud (1548-82), and he proved himself no mean successor to the throne of his fathers.

Askia Daud
(1548-82) A question, which we see becoming increasingly urgent, one that was destined later to bring about the final catastrophe, was the possession of the salt mines of Tegazza which, as we have mentioned, lay to the north near the borders of Morocco. Successive Sultans of Morocco had cast covetous eyes upon them, and alternately used threats and cajoleries to induce the Askia to relinquish them. Askia Daud, however, stood firm and managed to maintain the *status quo*. He undertook campaigns on all sides to safeguard his borders, and in 1554 an expedition was sent against the Hausa States. It is related that twenty-four Songhay warriors performed prodigies of valour in withstanding the onslaught of four hundred Katsinawa; so much so that the survivors when captured, instead of being slaughtered, were nursed with care and chivalrously returned to the Askia.

Daud took a great interest in the mosques and buildings of Timbuktu, and by his efforts caused many of them to be restored. The final campaign of his reign was a punitive expedition against the Fulani of Massina, and his son, who was in command, wreaked a merciless vengeance. Daud died in 1582, and within ten years of his death the Songhay Empire was no more.

Fall of the Songhay Empire; Moroccan Invasion In 1590 the Sultan of Morocco renewed his threats over the Tegazza salt mines question, and on receiving a defiant answer from Askia Ishak II, 'the last and worst of the Askias', he dispatched a well-equipped and well-organized force against the Songhay capital. The thoroughness and forethought of the Sultan's general Djouder Pasha enabled this army to reach the Niger without mishap, and in a pitched battle that followed the Songhay army was completely routed by the Moorish musketeers. Ishak fled eastwards to Gurma. Djouder followed in a more leisurely way and occupied Gao, now largely deserted, whence he withdrew to Timbuktu early in 1591 to await orders

from Morocco. Ishak had sued for peace, but Djouder was unwilling to accept his proposals until they had been sanctioned by the Sultan. Meanwhile, hostilities were suspended, and in the absence of authority every kind of disorderly element was released. Brigandage and outlawry broke out with neither let nor hindrance, and the country was rapidly given up to chaos.

Late in 1591 came the Sultan's answer—a bombshell for Djouder. Enraged at Djouder's moderation, the Sultan had suspected him of accepting bribes, and he now sent a new general, Mahmud ben Zergun, to supersede him, together with a complete new staff. Mahmud's first act was to pursue Ishak into Borgu and back again to Gurma, where he shortly afterwards died, or, as some say, was murdered by pagans.

*Mahmud
ben Zer-
gun*

Mahmud now proceeded to reduce the country by means of an inexorable series of cruelties, which have become legendary. Eighty-three members of the Royal House suffered death in various ways, some being beheaded, while others were drowned or crucified.

The year 1592 was marked by a great famine throughout the whole Sudan, including the Hausa States, and the Moorish soldiers, or Rumas, as they were called, experienced great difficulty in procuring food. For two further years Mahmud continued his campaigns in the south-east against Ishak's successor Nouh, who maintained a stout resistance in Dandi, on the marches of Kebbi. Mahmud had to confess failure, and in 1593 urgent affairs in Timbuktu called him away. Djouder Pasha was left in charge of Gao.

*Famine
through-
out the
Sudan
(1592)*

After the Moors had pursued Ishak into Borgu, riots had broken out in Timbuktu and also in Jenne. With the assistance of the Tuaregs order had been re-established, but a more formidable riot had broken out, this time abetted by the Tuaregs. A flying column from Dandi managed to quell these disorders, which had been mainly due to spasmodic lawlessness rather than to organized rebellion. But Mahmud decided that stern measures were necessary. By a trick he succeeded in enticing all the chief personages of Timbuktu into the mosque, as if to swear an oath of allegiance. Suddenly all the doors were closed. All were arrested. His next step was one which had tremendous bearing

*Riots in
Tim-
buktu
and
Jenne*

Expulsion of the Intelligentsia on the subsequent darkness and ignorance of the Sudan. He gave orders that all the intelligentsia of the city with their wives and families should be driven like sheep across the desert to be confined in Morocco. In this way all that was most cultured and learned, all that was most refined in the whole Sudan was lost. Their possessions were seized and their wonderful libraries destroyed. From now onwards Sudanese history is merely that of chicanery and primitive violence.

But retribution was at hand. The Sultan becoming jealous of Mahmud's power, and suspecting him of appropriating too large a share of the spoils, dispatched yet another general to supplant him. To gain time, Mahmud hastened off on a further expedition into Dandi against Nouh, who was supported by the Kanta of Kebbi, and in a rash assault on Nouh's position he was slain. His head was long exposed in Kanta's market-place at Leka as an emblem of victory.

Rule of Djouder There still remained Djouder. In 1595 he rallied the Moorish armies, and returning with them to Dandi he finally succeeded in overthrowing the remnants of Songhay. Once again he assumed the supreme command. As each successive representative arrived from the Sultan he mysteriously died, and under the calm rule of Djouder Pasha the country remained passably prosperous.

The system of administration inaugurated by Askia al Hadj had been kept, and so as not to destroy all local native prestige an artificial Askia was set up in Timbuktu as nominal king, in opposition to the legitimate Askia in Dandi.

Native auxiliary troops were used in conjunction with regulars, and garrisoned forts were maintained along the Niger at Jenne, Tindirma, Timbuktu, Bamba, Gao, and Kulani. Timbuktu became the chief town and administrative head-quarters; here the Governor resided with substantial military reserves.

Recall of Djouder (1599) In 1599 Djouder Pasha was recalled to Morocco, an honoured man at last. Although persistently distrusted by his Sultan he had shown himself to be a good type of military governor, having the qualities of firmness and shrewdness subtly blended.

After his departure the machinery rapidly fell to bits. Pasha succeeded Pasha from Morocco without success, until finally in 1612 the troops deposed the existing Pasha and appointed their

own general to be king. The army now took the upper hand entirely and the country became separated from Morocco. It was a military despotism of the worst type, and it had the usual tragic results. For three hundred years the Sudan was destined to remain in the same desperate condition of misrule, lawlessness, and chaos.

*Separation from
Morocco,
and
Period of
Chaos*

THREE CENTURIES OF CHAOS IN THE WESTERN SUDAN

1. *The Closing of the Sudan and Events in the Orient*

Prosperity prior to Moorish Conquest

IMMEDIATELY prior to the Moorish conquest of 1590 the Sudan was a prosperous and fertile country, basking in the sunshine of peace and order. It was almost inevitable that the Songhays should have become in some degree effete and soft. License in various ways had established itself; life had become too easy. Kebbi, however, remained vigorous and continued to form a stout bulwark for the Hausa States, which were occupied in petty wars and therefore lacked cohesion. Trade in some inexplicable manner flourished despite these constant feuds.

After effects of Conquest

In one fell swoop this peace and prosperity was changed to turmoil and misery by reason of the unrestrained powers of disorder which were let loose by the Moorish invasion. As a result, the Sudan, instead of being a medium for civilizing forces to filter through to the south from the Mediterranean, became a tight-shut enclave, through which there could come nothing good. Bornu, as heretofore, and the Hausa States to a lesser degree, still kept in touch with civilization by means of the easterly outlet. But now it was a civilization as represented by the Ottoman Turks, a crude parody of the old illustrious days of the Arab régime. A new Muhammadan Power had arisen in the East, and to explain how this largely contributed to the decline of the Muhammadan world in the West a short summary of contemporary events in the Near East will not be out of place.

Summary of History of Near East from thirteenth century

In the thirteenth century the Seljuk Turks overran Egypt, and in 1260 their foreign legionaries, the Mamelukes, set up a sultan of their own in Cairo, the Abbasid Khalif merely retaining a nominal and religious supremacy.

At the end of the fourteenth century the Ottoman Turks had pushed their way into Anatolia, Macedonia, and Illyria, the countries on both sides of the Bosphorus surrounding Constantinople. They had an organized military force called the Janis-

saries, somewhat similar to the Mamelukes, which was composed of young and patriotic volunteers joined together by secret bonds.

After many years of failure the Ottomans at last succeeded in capturing the Christian stronghold of Constantinople (1453), and thus, paradoxical as it may appear, banished from their midst their one source of culture and commercial prosperity. A wave of alarm immediately went through Europe which increased to panic when, in 1481, the Ottomans pillaged Otranto, a town on the heel of Italy. For nearly a century Turkish fleets continued to command the seas and constantly ravaged the coasts of Spain, Italy, and Africa. It was not until the battle of Lepanto in 1571 that the Ottoman sea-power was broken and trade once more revived.

*Capture
of Con-
stanti-
nople
(1453)*

*The
Battle of
Lepanto
(1571)*

In 1517 the Ottoman Turks under Selim had captured Egypt and Syria from the Mamelukes, and gradually the North African states, Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, came under their influence.

Meanwhile in Spain, after the sack of Otranto, anti-Muslim revulsion reached a head and in 1492 Ferdinand and Isabella wrested Granada from Islam. In 1502 the Muhammadans were expelled from Spain.

*Expulsion
of Mu-
hamma-
dans from
Spain
(1502)*

The expulsion of the Moors from Spain was a natural reaction from the expulsion of the Christians in Constantinople. Both the Roman Empire in the East and the Arab Empire of the West had become effete; the former could no longer resist the forces of barbarism, the latter could not accommodate itself to the sudden renaissance in Europe. There is no room in the modern world for declining and stagnating nations.

The result was that all communication between Spain and North Africa was suddenly cut and so remained. The North African seaboard became a refuge for innumerable Turkish corsairs who effectually closed the coast to shipping. Turks and Moors were competing for North Africa and large numbers of Spanish Moors elected to remove themselves into the desert.

In this manner, until comparatively recent times, the Sudan in all its misery was completely closed and lost to the civilized world—a period of three hundred years.

*Sudan
closed*

2. *The Sudan in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*

Independence of the Sudan In the eighteenth century the independence of the Sudan was complete. The Moors from Spain and Morocco had intermarried with the local races, the name 'Moors' had dropped out, their descendants being called 'Ruma' after the dreaded Moorish musketeers. Askia's organization had disappeared. Many petty kingdoms and states had resumed their independence; unity and cohesion were essentially lacking. The Ruma remained mainly on the banks of the Niger, where they had settled.

Meanwhile, with the closing of the caravan routes came the opening of maritime trade in the Atlantic, but of this the Sudan was as yet unaware. The expulsion of the Moors from Spain had more or less coincided with the voyages of discovery round Africa made by Vasco da Gama and Bartholomew Diaz. Europe was groping at the back door.

European Explorers At the end of the eighteenth century Mungo Park, author of *Travels in the Interior of Africa*, twice came and explored the Gambia and the Niger as far as Bussa, where he was drowned. A few years later came Denham to Bornu, Clapperton to Sokoto, Lander to discover the course of the Niger, and in 1855 Barth completed his monumental book as a result of five years' scientific research in the Western Sudan.¹

Rise of the Fulani The nineteenth century saw considerable activity from the direction of Massina, a town largely inhabited by Fulani. They had come down many centuries before from Adrar, the desert country to the north of the Senegal river. The Fulani rose as the Moors declined. Mungo Park says that the Moors were divided into many tribes and lacked cohesion. He mentions that they were cruel and barbarous and preyed on the negroes; they were not an agricultural people. They had been dispossessed of their big towns on the Niger by the Tuaregs, who, pressing down from the north, had established a Tuareg kingdom. In 1770 they had taken Gao and in 1800 they captured Timbuktu.

Origin The Fulani had been in Senegal for over a thousand years. Their origin is not established and is a subject full of controversy. They are distinctly non-negro, varying in colour from light red to black, usually slightly built and thin-featured. There

¹ See next chapter.

are some clans, however, without these typical racial characteristics, who yet call themselves Fulani, e.g. the Toronkawa and the Sulibawa. Both these clans, as it happens, provide the ruling families of the great Fulani Emirates. The Shehu Usuman dan Fodio was a Ba-Toronke; Dabo, second Emir of Kano, whose successors have ruled Kano for the last century, was a Ba-Sulibe. It has been observed that the members of these clans are more heavily built and darker skinned—often fine-looking men; some think that they are of Jolof extraction. It should be remembered, of course, that one cannot judge by the appearances of the nobility, whose blood is far from pure owing to the long-standing custom of taking concubines; by Muslim law the child of a wife and that of a concubine are absolutely equal in status and privileges. These Fulani are essentially a pastoral people. Nevertheless, they have for long occupied important positions such as judges, imams, and counsellors, not only in the Sudan but in Morocco. They are intelligent and adaptable. Their language, it is said, is not African.¹ Some like to suppose that they are the same people as the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings of Egypt. Certainly a similar race of shepherd rulers filtered into East Africa from the north in search of grazing.²

Occupations

Language

The first white king of Ghana had a Fulani name and in the ninth century the kings of Massina were alternately Berber and Fulani.³

It is during the thirteenth century that we first hear of Fulani immigration to the Hausa States; but these were mere herdsmen. The Cattle or Bush Fulani, so called, must be differentiated from the Town Fulani, who obtained important offices under the state rulers; the former remained pagan and the latter became very much Muslim. With both, however, independence was their chief characteristic. The Cattle Fulani (Bororo'en) are said to accuse the Town Fulani of having sold their birth-right; they say that they have departed from their principles and have tainted their blood by mixing with an inferior race.

The Bush and the Town Fulani

¹ According to one of their legends their language, which seems to bear no philological relation to any West African tongue, is of miraculous origin. Its verb-forms invite comparison with Arabic.

² Cf. the Masai of East Africa.

³ Cf. alternate Wangara and Durbi kings of Katsina.

In Adamawa the fact that the Fulani ruling classes in other Emirates have so far denationalized themselves as to have abandoned the use of Fulfulde is commonly regarded as a matter of great reproach. Under the Pax Britannica, however, few of the Bororo'en have maintained their proud exclusiveness to the same degree; most of them now deign to wield a hoe for a short time in the rainy season. This immigration from the west argues that there was some pressure, possibly demands for tribute.

*Promi-
nent Fu-
lani Re-
vivalists*

When the nineteenth century opened, the Fulani were apparently the predominant race in the Sudan. In 1813 a fanatical Fulani, Sheikh Ahmadu, rose up and carried a vehement jihad into the bend of the Niger. Less than ten years previously another Fulani, the celebrated Shehu Usuman, the son of Fodio, had also declared a jihad in the Hausa States and had met with considerable success on all sides. Sheikh Ahmadu ousted the Ruma and captured Timbuktu from the Tuaregs. As far as one can judge, in contrast to Usuman, Ahmadu appears to have been a mere adventurer. He deliberately circulated various revelations and doctrines, which were designedly false, to further his own ends. By imposing his fiery zeal on an ignorant following he built up a formidable organization which he called the Fulbe Empire with himself as Emir el Muminina.

On his death in 1844 he was succeeded by his son Ahmadu. In the same year Timbuktu was recaptured by the Tuaregs.

About this time there was a host of self-styled prophets claiming varying degrees of holiness who went about the country massacring and looting in the name of God.

Al Hadj Omar, a bloodthirsty fanatic, defeated the Fulani Sheikh at the battle of Safara, and ruthlessly murdered most of his rival's family. In 1863 the tables were turned and Al Hadj Omar was himself defeated and killed by the Fulani. In the same year Timbuktu was repossessed by the Fulani after having changed hands five times in thirty years.

*French
Occupation of
the
Sudan* Between 1870 and 1880 yet another devastating prophet, Samory, was let loose on the Sudan. But towards the end of the century came the French occupation. Jenne and Timbuktu were entered in 1893 and from now onwards peace gradually came over the Sudan. When the French arrived they found only spasmodic agriculture. All commerce was destroyed, the river

was deserted by its canoes, the markets were empty, and the population was decimated by slavery, famine, and emigration.

But the natural resources of this country are so enormous that under a wise and strong administration she cannot fail to regain her former prosperity. Indeed there is no reason why she should not far exceed it.

3. *The River Niger*

It is not always realized that the Niger not only does for the Niger regions what the Nile does for Egypt, but incomparably more. The Nile requires much human aid, and even then cannot approach the vastness of the benefits conferred by the Niger without the intervening aid of man. The Niger floods to an average width of more than sixty miles, so that Timbuktu is on the threshold of another Egypt equally favoured by nature but infinitely greater in extent. *Comparison with the Nile*

The Niger rises in the Kissi region, at the back of Sierra Leone, on the ninth degree of latitude, where there is very heavy rainfall from February to July. By the time it reaches Kurussa it has become an imposing river. *Source*

Between Bammaku and Diafaraba the river is solitary. At first the country on the right bank is magnificently watered by numerous parallel tributaries. Here, in its upper reaches, the country is radiant with all kinds of tropical vegetation such as banana, kola, orange, and citron trees. But as yet she is reserving her force and the width of inundation is a bare half-mile. *Course*

Towards September the waters reach Mopti, where they are joined by the immense swirl of her tributary the Bani River, which rises even farther south. The banks are here too confined for the joint forces of these two mighty rivers, and from now onwards the Niger hurls itself everywhere in an effort to be free. From Diafaraba to Timbuktu it swamps a whole region, turning a barren steppe into a fertile country. Centuries of vegetable mud have completely changed the character of the sandy wastes. *The Bani Tributary*

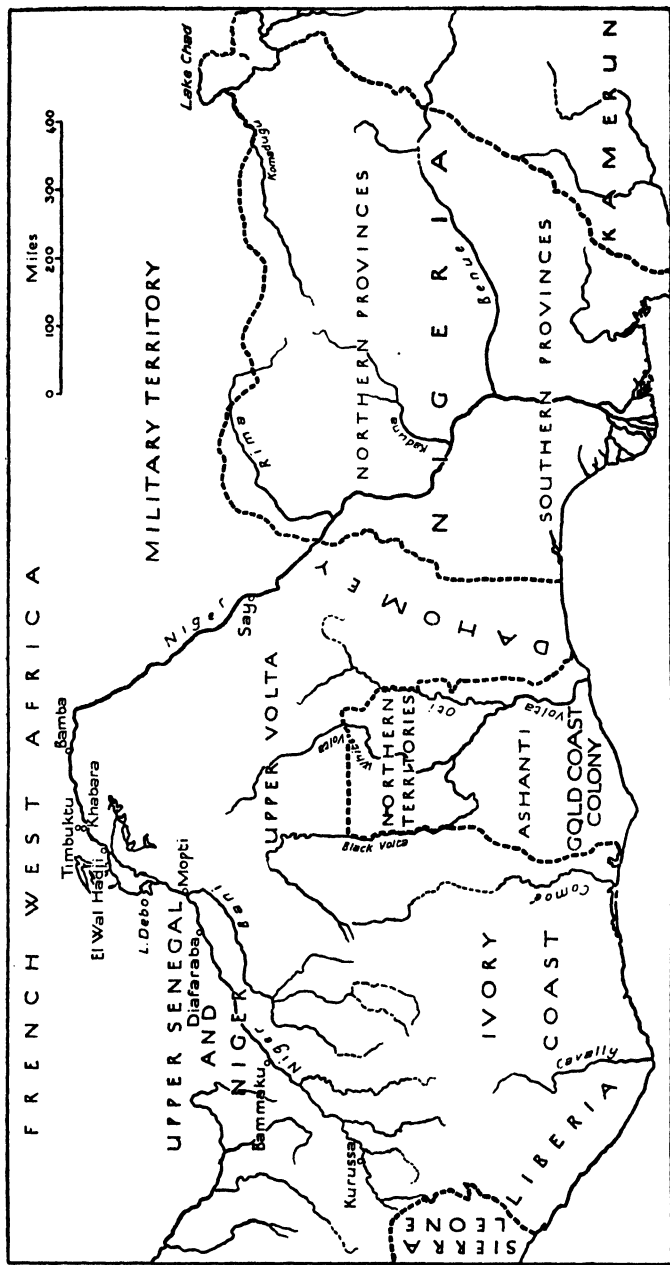
There is not merely one delta, as in Egypt, but there are three deltas. The first is from Diafaraba to the approaches of Lake Debo; the regular rise and fall of the river gives a complete and thorough system of natural irrigation over thousands of square miles. At Mopti, in September, the floods extend ninety miles *Three Deltas*

Natural Reservoirs east and west to a depth of eight or nine feet. The second delta is between Lake Debo and El Wal Hadji. On the left bank a series of twelve lakes are filled, which act as natural reservoirs, retaining their waters as the flood subsides. There are numerous cross-channels, many of which are navigable all the year round. On all sides are signs of wonderful fertility. The third delta is between El Wal Hadji and Khabara, the port of Timbuktu, and innumerable channels connect the lakes to the north with those to the south coast. Of the latter there are no fewer than twenty-three.

Fertility of the Bamba Region From El Wal Hadji to its mouth the Niger pursues a lone course. The waters reach Timbuktu about January; after this they are forced east by the sand dunes; but the south bank is favourable for flooding, and hence this Bamba region is fertile and prosperous. Later, the river encounters the Taosay Range and is turned south, the left bank remaining inhospitable but the right bank as yielding as ever.

It is not until July that the waters reach Say, and they finally reach the sea in September after a journey of about a year from the source.¹

¹ See Felix Dubois, *Timbuktu the Mysterious*.



The River Niger

VIII

EUROPEAN DISCOVERIES

Exploration due to Commerce

THE gradual growth of world commerce began with the sea voyages of the fifteenth century. This led to the exploration by Europeans of the whole globe. The ancient world knew little of the earth save the countries which bordered on the Mediterranean, and such knowledge as they had was almost entirely due to the Phoenicians with their thirst for trading.

Various Explorers

About 1260 a Venetian merchant called Marco Polo visited China, and was received at Peking by the emperor of the Mongols. His descriptions of the hitherto unknown Far East filled Europe with wonder. Gradually during the fifteenth century sailors grew more venturesome, and after discovering Cape Verde (1445) the Portuguese crept down the coast until in 1486 Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope. During this century the Portuguese established many forts along the west coast, Fort Elmina being the first. In 1492 Columbus set sail from the Canary Islands and discovered the West Indies, which he took to be Asia. Six years later Vasco da Gama heard of this and determined to reach India by sea. This he succeeded in doing by sailing round the Cape of Good Hope, then up the African coast to Zanzibar and across the Indian Ocean to Calicut. The lure in each case was trade, and particularly the spice trade, which had hitherto been the monopoly of the Arab carriers between the Spice Islands and the eastern ports of the Mediterranean, where the products were delivered to Italian merchants. In those days spices were greatly in demand for preserving and seasoning food, and the profits of the trade were enormous.

Magellan next succeeded in sailing round the world, and more and more explorers, chiefly English navigators, sailed to the coast of North America in an endeavour to find a passage to the Spice Islands.

Cortés began the Spanish conquests in the western world by undertaking the subjugation of the Aztec Empire in Mexico in 1519. A few years later Pizarro established the Spanish power in Peru.

In 1553 a trading expedition was conducted to Benin by an

English merchant captain, and in 1588 two voyages to Benin were accomplished by an English trader. From this time Benin was frequently visited by Dutch and Portuguese traders.

Up to the eighteenth century little was known of the River Niger beyond the fact that it was spoken of by the Greeks and mentioned by Ptolemy, an Egyptian geographer of the second century. It is said that the Romans had visited its northern reaches, and that two Arab travellers had written accounts of it. The problem of this great river, forming part as it did of one of the most bewildering geographical mysteries of the world, remained unsolved almost to the nineteenth century.

In 1795 Mungo Park was sent by the African Association (now the Royal Geographical Society) for the purpose of exploring the course of the river. This was the beginning of various explorations of the River Niger, and embraces a period in which the gradual opening of the country inland to legitimate trade and commercial enterprise, the spread of British influence, and the establishment of good government were the predominating features.

Mungo Park landed at the Gambia, and proceeding eastwards he succeeded in reaching Segu before he returned home. Starting again in 1805 from the Gambia with forty-five followers he reached the Niger with only seven. These were all drowned on reaching the rapids at Bussa.

In 1822 Clapperton and Denham, starting from Tripoli, reached Bornu and were received kindly by Al Kanemi. Clapperton went on to Kano and Sokoto, where he met Mamman Bello. After many interesting adventures they returned to England in 1825 and their journals aroused widespread interest. Clapperton at once revisited the country, coming via Badagri and reaching Bussa. With his servant, Richard Lander, he travelled through Nupe, Yauri, and Zaria to Kano, and thence to Sokoto, where Clapperton died.

Richard Lander returned safely to England, but in 1830 he persuaded the British Government to send him and his brother on a further exploration. Having reached Bussa they sailed down the Niger and eventually reached Brass, thus solving the mystery of the course of the Niger.

This discovery had a great effect in England. Between 1832

and 1834, under the leadership of Mr. MacGregor Laird, an expedition tried to ascend the river, but failed to get farther than Rabba and Panda on the Benue. Many of the expedition died of fever and Richard Lander was killed by natives.

Dr. Barth Several expeditions followed, but quite the most important was Dr. Barth's remarkable journey across the desert to Hausaland. He started from Tripoli in 1849 and continued his travels in Africa until 1855, visiting all the more important kingdoms in the country and finally at great risk visiting Timbuktu. His journals provided a most valuable contribution to the field of research. Although it is eighty years since he started out, his work is still regarded as the final authority on matters innumerable.

Lagos reduced In 1851 Lagos was reduced by a British naval force. Six years later MacGregor Laird made another attempt to found trading-stations up the Niger, but by 1861 they all had to be abandoned, and trade once more practically ceased. For some years matters did not improve, until in 1882 the National African Company (later to become the Royal Niger Company) was formed as a combined association of traders, and treaties were concluded with several chiefs and tribes.

The British Protectorate of Nigeria These treaties were the foundation of the British Protectorate of Nigeria, which was gradually evolved by combining the Oil Rivers Protectorate, on the coast, with the hinterland, under the jurisdiction of the Royal Niger Company. In 1900 the British Government revoked the charter and the Colonial Office from this date administered the country.

Amalgamation of Southern with Northern Protectorate On 1 January 1914 the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria was amalgamated with the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, the whole becoming the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria. Sir Frederick Lugard, who had been appointed Governor of Southern and Northern Nigeria in 1912, became the first Governor of Nigeria.

under first Governor Nigeria's Part in the Great War On the outbreak of war with Germany two battalions and a battery of the Nigeria Regiment co-operated with troops from all the West African Colonies in an attack on the German Cameroons. After an initial reverse at the strongly defended position of Garua, General Dobell compelled Duala, the chief town of the Cameroons, to capitulate in September 1914.

General Cunliffe captured Garua in June 1915, with the aid of the French, and then took the well-fortified position of Banyo by assault.

On 1 January 1916 the Germans were forced to evacuate their new head-quarters at Jaunde, and escaped into neutral territory, where they were disarmed. With the capitulation of the almost impregnable stronghold of Mora on 18 February 1916 the conquest of the Cameroons was complete.

In November a strong contingent of the Nigeria Regiment sailed to East Africa under General Cunliffe, where they did some very gallant service.

PART II

IX

KANO PROVINCE

1. *Kano*

*The
Original
Inhabitants of
Kano*

THE earliest inhabitants of Kano, it is said, were descendants of a Gaiya smith named Kano who had come to the Dalla hill in search of ironstone. To this day there are people in Kano, generally blacksmiths, who call themselves Abagayawa and are supposed to be descendants of the original inhabitants. Although there were probably even earlier inhabitants, tradition goes no farther; at the same time a Kano manuscript has the following mythical genealogy: The chief of the Kano people was a giant named Barbushe, 'a man from the slave country'. He was 'a black man of great stature and height, a hunter who slew elephants with his stick and carried them on his head about nine miles'. He lived on the Dalla hill and was high priest to the pagan god Tchunburburai, a tree called Shamuz, whose festivals were observed on two days in the year. On these occasions various mystic rites were performed, black animals were sacrificed, and prophecies foretold. The scene of these observances was the grove of Jakara, which was called 'Kurmin Bakin Ruwa', because its water was black, and it was surrounded by the grove.

We are usually indebted to the art of ironworking for the earliest information of a people because it is a trade which has always been held in esteem by primitive peoples; its secrets were jealously guarded and handed down from father to son. Its eminent utility apart from its hereditary atmosphere of superstition kept it immune from molestation despite successive changes of dynasty.

About the tenth century A.D. an influx of foreigners from the East took place. Legend has it that they came from Bagdad via Bornu and that they introduced the horse into Hausaland, but it is unsupported by history.

The familiar and traditional myth, which varies in detail, is that a certain hero, Bawo, killed the fetish snake at Daura,

married the reigning queen, and that his sons founded the seven Hausa States. It is also said that Biram,¹ the oldest seat of the Hausa people, married Diggera—a once powerful Beri-Beri settlement to the north of Bornu—and had six children. Zaria and Katsina were first born as twins, then Kano and Rano, and finally Gobir and Daura. Many say that Daura was the eldest. To each was assigned a special duty: Gobir was appointed War Lord (Sarkin Yaki) to defend his brethren; Kano and Rano were made ministers of industry—dyeing and weaving—(Sarkin Baba); Katsina and Daura became ministers of commerce (Sarkin Kasuwa), while Zaria was made Slave Lord (Sarkin Bayi) to supply his brethren with labour from Bauchi, the hilly country to the south. Sarkin Musulmi Bello's version is that the seven Hausa States were all under the sway of the Shehu of Bornu, who set his slave Bawo to govern them. When Bawo died he was succeeded by his six sons and his daughter Daura. Besides the legitimate seven (the Hausa Bakwai) there were seven illegitimate sons (the Banza Bakwai), namely Kebbi, Zamfara, Nupe, Gwari, Yawuri, Yoruba, and Kwararafa. In these latter countries although Hausa is spoken it is not the original language. The Sarkin Rano is still called Autan Bawo (i.e. the youngest son of Bawo).

*The
Hausa
States*

These legends seem to point to the fact that in some remote period of antiquity the Hausa people was brought into existence by a union between earlier races coming from such countries as Egypt and Arabia, and the aboriginal pagans whose descendants have been gradually pushed into lower latitudes. It is noteworthy that the prevailing form of religion was originally a form of goddess worship.

The first recorded King of Kano in the 'Kano Chronicle' was Bagoda, son of Bawo, grandson of Bayajidda. His date is given as 999 A.D. Then follows a long line of his descendants, forty-eight in number.

*Bagoda
(999), 1st
King*

The fifth chief, Yusa or Tsaraki, completed the walls of Kano begun by the third chief, Gijimasu, about the twelfth century. All these earlier kings seem to have been held in profound suspicion by the pagan aboriginals, and the kings were constantly scheming to be let into the secrets of the mysteries. The ninth

*Yusa or
Tsaraki,
5th King*

¹ Now a town called Garin Gabbas in Hadejia Emirate.

Tsamia, king, Tsamia, succeeded in learning the secret and gaining the allegiance of the pagans. Long horns were first used in his reign. The tune that they played was 'Stand firm, Kano is your city'.

Coming of Islam About the thirteenth or fourteenth century it is probable that Islam commenced to filter through to Hausaland from Malle with the first trickle of Fulani or Wangara immigration, and we

Yaji hear that a certain King of Kano (Yaji)¹ erected a mosque, various miracles being performed. But shortly afterwards his son, Kanajeji (1390-1410), fell back upon the old pagan priesthood, and singing the Song of Barbushe, carried fire and sword into the heart of Zaria. He it was who is said to have first introduced the use of quilted cotton armour, coats of mail, and iron helmets, which are supposed to have been originally obtained as spoils of war from the Crusaders.

These early reigns merely furnish records of internal struggles and the gradual predominance of Islam over paganism.

Daudu In the reign of the fifteenth king, Daudu (1421-38), Kalnama, (1421-38) King of Bornu, paid a protracted visit to Kano, as his own throne was too insecure. Daudu was hospitable, but careful to lodge him well away from the city in case of intrigue. It was Daudu who is said to have completed the conquest of Zaria, but it must have been a very nominal one, as Queen Amina of Zaria still retained a large proportion of her former revenue.

Abdullahi Burja During the next reign, of Abdullahi Burja (1438-52), the Galadima Daudu spent seven years in the southern provinces and effectually subdued them, keeping Kano well supplied with slaves.² He founded twenty-one towns and was made ruler over them. The king opened up the roads from Bornu to Ganjua and large numbers of Beri-Beri came and settled in the country. This king was said to be the first to have camels in Hausaland.

Yakubu In the reign of the nineteenth king, Yakubu (1452-63), we have definite records of a considerable Fulani and Wangara immigration from Malle, which was now on the decline. They

¹ Hot-tempered.

² The Galadima was sung as follows:

Gatherer of the axes of the South:
Gatherer of the youth of the South:
Drum of Wealth, Galadima:
Drum of Land, Galadima:

brought many books and many passed on to Bornu. We also hear of the beginnings of great trade activity. Yakubu was succeeded by his famous son Muhammad Rumfa (1463-99), a renowned chief under whom Kano probably reached the height of her power. During his reign we find the first definite records of Muslim emissaries, although Islam had undoubtedly found many previous converts of a kind.

*Muham-
mad
Rumfa
(1463-
99)*

Civilization made great strides, and from this epoch Kano emerged as a prosperous and influential power. Mosques were erected, learned men from all parts came to Kano, Muslim and Oriental customs began to be followed, eunuchs were given offices of state, women were kept secluded, and the fast of Ramadan was observed. A new palace, the south gate of which exists to this day, was built in place of the old one which used to stand somewhere to the east of Dala, before one reaches the present Blind Quarter. This gate is only opened to allow a new king to enter on his accession. After this event it is walled up until the next accession. The gate is in the inside wall of the palace and opens into the private courtyard through the royal graveyard, called Karofi. The palace is still called the Gidan Rumfa.

At this time the first war with Katsina began, when Muhammad introduced the practice of 'Dawakin Zagge' (i.e. footmen accompanying and taking cover among the horsemen).

Muhammad's successor, Abdullahi, brought this eleven years' war to a successful conclusion and also defeated Zaria, but he had to humble himself before Bornu.

*Abdul-
lahi
(1499-
1509)*

His son Muhammad Kisoki (1509-65), however, avenged this slight, and during his long reign made extensive conquests, driving back the Bornuese and once again establishing the supremacy of Kano. The influence of the king's mother and grandmother is noticeably strong at this time. Early in his reign (1512) Kano had been conquered by the Askia of Songhay who, having first captured Katsina and Zaria, took Kano after a long siege. He compelled Muhammad to marry one of his daughters and restored him to his kingdom conditionally on his annual payment of a third of all his tribute. This invasion by Songhay is not recorded by the Kano Chronicle, although independent evidence is strong. It serves to illustrate either how little this

*Muham-
mad Ki-
soki
(1509-
65)*

conquest can have affected conditions of life in Kano, or how biased chroniclers may be by local patriotism.

From 1570 to 1650 there were constant and devastating wars between Kano and Katsina. In the reign of Abubakr Kado (1565-73) the Katsinawa came right up to the gates (Kansakali) of Kano; his successor carried war back into their country, but was repulsed at Kankiya. Again, in the reign of Muhamman Zaki (1582-1618), the Katsinawa kept sweeping down to Kano, and but for their respect for the mallams would have destroyed the city. A few years later, however, the Kanawa marched up to Katsina and captured many prisoners and spoils of war, including four hundred horses and sixty suits of horse-armour. During Zaki's reign the Kwararafa ate up the whole country, the Kano people evacuating the city and fleeing to Daura. There was an eleven years' famine as a result of this depopulation. Muhamman Nazaki (1618-23) proposed terms of peace, but the Katsinawa refused them. They attempted an invasion, were repulsed with great loss, and continuously harried until 1648, when they repelled the Kano army and inflicted a mortal wound on Kutumbi, the king. In the reign of Shekarau (1649-51) a treaty of peace was made. By this time the kings of Kano had amassed considerable wealth. For instance 'whenever Kutumbi went to war or to Salla he was followed by one hundred spare horses. Forty drums went in front of him, and twenty-five trumpets, and fifty kettle-drums. He was always followed by one hundred eunuchs who were handsomely dressed and had gold and silver ornaments'.

These wars did much to weaken the power and domination of Kano. Famine was never far away, and in the early half of the sixteenth century Kano had fallen a prey to the Kebbawa under the famous Kanta, a Songhay general who had revolted from the Askia. They were content, however, to demand tribute without occupying the town.

But their domination had been overshadowed in about 1600 A.D., as we have seen, by a powerful pagan people from the south called the Kwararafa, inhabiting the right bank of the Benue. For over a century Kano remained subject to the Kwararafa, despite periodic efforts and protests.¹

¹ See Chapter XVIII.

In 1734 we find that the Sultan of Bornu had become the overlord of Kano and tribute was paid to him up to the time of the jihad. Thus Muhammad Kisoki seems to have been the last of the Habe rulers of Kano who enjoyed the honour of paying tribute to no one. It is said that but for the intercession of certain Kano mallams the Sultan of Bornu would have burnt the city. One of these mallams, Shehu Attahiru, was a direct ancestor of the present Emir, his daughter Halimatu being the mother of Dabo.

*Subject
to
Bornu*

To the west and north-west two states, Zamfara and Gobir, were now coming into prominence. In the reign of Kumbaru (1731-43) there was fierce war between Kano and Gobir, but the result was never decisive, first one and then the other prevailing. In Kumbaru's time shields were first brought from Nupe, and also guns. It is on record that about 1700 A.D. the Kano forces were severely defeated by the Zamfarawa at Argaye. The eighteenth century was marked by continual struggles with Gobir, until in about 1770 Sarkin Gobir Babari, having gradually reduced Zamfara and destroyed her capital, established his supremacy over Kano. But, as in most of the wars in Hausaland, the losing of this one seems to have had little effect upon the economic conditions of Kano, and the remainder of the century was comparatively prosperous. The internal organization of Kano was unaffected by the reverses abroad and her system of government has largely remained to this day.

*Kumbaru
(1731-
43)*

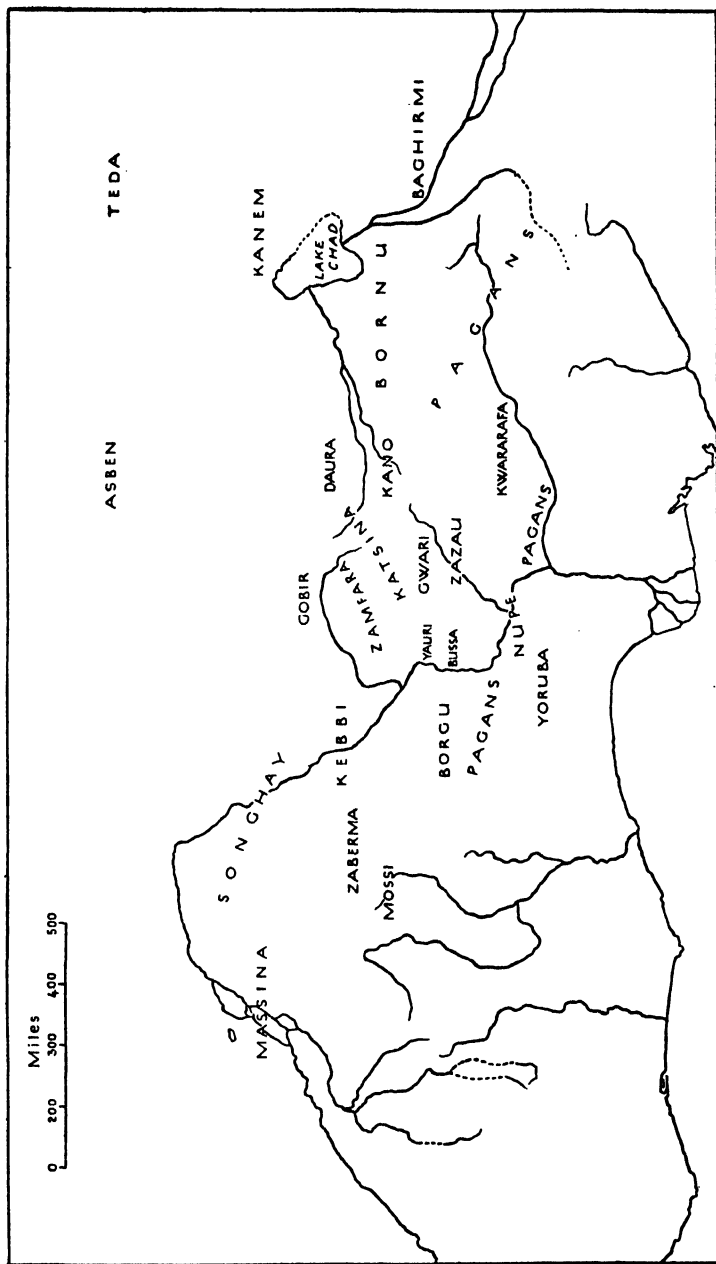
*The do-
minance
of Gobir*

At the beginning of the nineteenth century conditions in the Western Sudan underwent a violent change in consequence of an event which is generally known as the Fulani Conquest and is qualified as a jihad. As it will be seen in the chapter on the Sokoto Emirate, religion was often made a pretext for the acquisition of worldly power. It had as its confessed object the purification of the Muslim religion, and it was directed against the corrupt rulers of Hausaland who had been supposedly oppressing or ignoring the rights of their Muslim subjects.

*The
Jihad*

In reality it was originally a national fight of the Fulani, both Muslim and pagan, against the forces of Yunfa, the King of Gobir, who had decreed their extermination. Only after the victory, when the pagan Fulani, who had borne more than their full share in order to achieve it, had retired to their flocks and

*Its
Nature*



Rival States in the Western Sudan prior to 1800

herds, did the mallams, who had been the leaders, exploit the opportunity under the cloak of religion to oust the native rulers and put themselves into their places, with Usuman dan Fodio at their head. Henceforth this movement was no longer confined to a particular race; yet from its very nature it appealed more strongly to the fanatical and more highly strung element in the Fulani clans, and for this reason perhaps it has been called the Fulani Conquest. Furthermore, the Fulani, by reason of the greater powers of initiative given by their clan organization, were convenient instruments for the successful working of a coup.

In the fifteenth century there were supposed to have been twelve principal clans of Fulani settled in Kano territory. At the end of the eighteenth century the chief clans near Kano were:

*Fulani
Clans
near
Kano*

- (1) The Modibawa¹ (from Modibo or Mallam) chiefly in the city itself.
- (2) The Sulibawa under Mallam Jemo, and
- (3) The Daneji under Dan Zabuwa, both of which were to the south-west.
- (4) The Yolawa² to the west.
- (5) The Dambazawa under Mallam Dabo to the north.
- (6) The Jobawa to the east.

In 1807 Dan Zabuwa of the Daneji clan, who was considered the leader of the Kano Fulani, was sent to the Shehu, Usuman dan Fodio, to obtain his approval in the form of a flag for the conquest of Kano. The flag was granted, but the Shehu refrained from appointing a generalissimo, possibly fearing dissension and jealousy. The result of this was that a year was spent in spasmodic and disunited contests. Alwali, the Habe ruler of Kano, subdued the eastern parts of his territory, while the Fulani were successful in the west. Finally, the combined Fulani forces met Alwali at Dan Yahaya, twenty-five miles north of Kano, and after a battle lasting three days Alwali was

*The
Shehu
grants a
Flag*

*Battle of
Dan Ya-
haya*

¹ The Modibawa were originally known as Igilawa and came from Bornu with their chief, Mallam Atiku. Owing to his great reputation for learning Mallam Atiku was known as Modibo.

² The Yolawa had their origin in the migration of a certain Mallam Liman Yafi from Yola to a village west of Kano during the Kwararafa occupation. The village became known as Yola, as did that part of Kano which was subsequently occupied by some of the clan.

forced to fly for his life. The Fulani, trained from infancy to the use of the bow, did great execution among Alwali's heavy cavalry, protected though they were by cumbersome armour. The Habe army must have contained a large element of half-hearted peasants who themselves were vaguely Muslim in an ignorant way, whereas the Fulani, fighting for a cause, were infused with religious zeal and looked on the Habe as pagans. The bulk of the Habe had no cause to fight for, and were probably only too anxious for a peaceful issue.

Alwali killed (1807) Alwali first fled to Kano and thence to Zaria, but finding no support he repaired to Burumburum, where he was sought out by the Fulani, defeated, and killed (1807). It was now necessary for the victors to elect a chief, and the five leaders of the principal Fulani clans went to Gwandu to submit their candidature to the Shehu. It is said that the meeting took place in the country and not in the town of Gwandu. The Shehu asked them to name the most learned man in Kano. 'Sulemanu, a servant of Dan Zabuwa, who is at present at home', they replied. 'Then he is to be your chief', said the Shehu.

Sulemanu (1809-19) Sulemanu belonged to the Modibawa clan. His chief counsellor and friend was Mallam Jemo, the head of the Sulibawa clan. On Mallam Jemo's death, his nephew Dabo gained his uncle's position of confidential adviser.

Dabo (1819-45) When Sulemanu died in 1819 after an uneventful reign, the question of succession again became acute. The Sarkin Musulmi, Mamman Bello, who had succeeded the Shehu in Sokoto, appointed Dabo on the recommendation of Sulemanu, who, being a 'wali' (or saint), had been aware of his approaching death according to Muslim beliefs. But there was much dissatisfaction and jealousy amongst the other clans, and it took three years of fighting to eliminate this. Dabo became known as 'Chigari' after this struggle, and to this day any man named Dabo (Ibrahim) is liable to receive this nickname.¹

Bornuese Invasion In 1825-6 Al Kanemi, the newly arrived Shehu of Bornu, brought down an expedition and threatened Kano. The Kanawa succeeded in diverting this invasion southwards and a little later Yakubu, Sarkin Bauchi, drove back the Bornuese.

¹ Cf. the Sokoto nicknames of Mai-Wurno for Mallam Bello, Mai-Kwarre for Isa, Nagwamatse for Umaru, &c.

In 1844, towards the end of Dabo's reign, a serious attempt was made by the Habe, who had collected at Maradi, to oust the Fulani and re-establish themselves in their old position. A similar attempt had been made ten years previously against the Sokoto Fulani, but Bello had inflicted a crushing defeat. The Habe forces, led by Umaru 'Dan Mari', came south through the Rubu bush, which to-day roughly separates the Katsina and Sokoto Emirates and was then quite populous, and established themselves in a strong and menacing position at Matazu,¹ where they were joined by many supporters. After a long siege lasting the best part of a year the Fulani captured the town.

*The Habe
Revolt
from
Maradi
under
Dan
Mari
(1844)*

In 1845 Dabo died and was succeeded by his son Usuman, nicknamed 'Ma-je-Ringin', who reigned ten years and died at Ringin. It was during his reign that Dr. Barth visited Kano. He was succeeded by his brother Abdullahi, through whom the succession has followed, and in his long reign of twenty-seven years he earned the veneration of his people.² Nevertheless he allowed the Ningi pagans, who had for years provided a suitable raiding ground, to become uncomfortably aggressive. In this perhaps he was not altogether to blame. For many years the supreme test of a warrior's courage had been to chase an ill-armed and out-numbered herd of inoffensive natives from their sorry villages and to capture those who survived as slaves; but in process of time the Ningi pagans had profited by hard experience and every year found them more confident in their defences—so much so in fact that they actually began to become the aggressors and remained a constant thorn in the side of Kano. Abdullahi, nicknamed 'Ma-je-Karofi', died at Karofi in Katsina in 1883. He was succeeded by his brother Muhamman Bello, whose life was uneventful but whose death plunged Kano into a disastrous civil war.

*Usuman
(1845-
55)
Abdullahi
(1855-
83)*

The normal successor would have been Yusufu, the eldest son of Abdullahi. He and his brothers had always been looked on with great disfavour by Bello, who appeared to take a delight in heaping on them indignities, presumably in order

*Muham-
man
Bello
(1883-
93)*

¹ Katsina authorities differ about this. See Katsina section.

² The number of persons he turned out of office was countless. Hence the song—'Son of Ibrahim, a pick-axe, a remedy for hard ground' (*Dan Ibrahim, dagi, maganin kasa mai tauri*).

The Civil War
(1893-4)

to discredit them in favour of his own son Muhamman Tukur. But his designs were not conspicuously successful, for when the Sarkin Musulmi Abdurrahmani ('Dainyen Kasko') disregarded the recommendation of the Wazirin Sokoto, who happened to be in Kano at the time, and foolishly appointed Tukur in response to some momentary whim, the people of Kano flocked in large numbers to Yusufu's standard at Takai. Yusufu was soon strong enough to march on Kano and fought his way through the Kofar Mata¹ before he was forced to retire, and for some months he had to content himself with reducing such of the towns and villages to the south-east as were still hostile. While thus engaged he died at Garko in 1894 and his brother Aliyu took his place as Pretender. Aliyu returned to attack Kano, and succeeded in entering the town by effecting a breach in the walls between the Nassarawa and the Dan Agundi gates. Tukur was forced to flee the town, but was captured at Tafashiya, north-west of Kano, and on his way back to Kano he died at Gurin after reigning eleven months. So ended a most unfortunate civil war which, as always, had a severely crippling effect on the prosperity of the country. The Wazirin Sokoto was

Aliyu
(1894-1903)

in due course sent to invest Aliyu, according to what had formerly been the invariable procedure. On this occasion, however, Kano took the opportunity of showing that she desired no further interference from outside and that she no longer tacitly acknowledged the pre-eminence of Sokoto.

Struggles with Ningi

The war with Ningi continued intermittently, though Dan Yaya, the Ningi chief, made overtures for peace. On one occasion Aliyu was caught by a night attack and barely escaped with his life.

And with Damagaram

In 1898, at Gezawa, Aliyu defeated the Sarkin Damagaram from Zinder, who had invaded Kano to within sixteen miles of the city, but in the following two years it is recorded that the Sarkin Damagaram actually penetrated as far as Fanisau, a bare five miles from Kano city.

On the eve of the British Occupation Aliyu definitely showed his hand by receiving with honour the Magajin Keffi. This man

¹ The Women's Gate, so named because in olden times the gate was made to allow the women to go to the 'Sallar Idi' apart from the men, who used the Wambai Gate.

had just been responsible for the murder of Captain Moloney, the Resident of Nassarawa, and had sought refuge from the British in Kano. This action on the part of the Sarkin Kano could only be interpreted as a direct challenge to British prestige, and the future attitude of all the northern Emirs depended on the issue. Hence everything turned on the fate of the British Expedition which had to be sent against Kano, since peaceful overtures had proved abortive. The expedition met with scarcely any resistance and the result was never in doubt. When Aliyu heard of the impending arrival of the British, he found it urgently necessary to betake himself and his followers to Sokoto to salute the new Sarkin Musulmi Attahiru. Urged to return and combat the enemy, his heart failed him at Geza when he heard of the occupation of Kano, and after calling on his people to make ready for the morrow's fight he himself quietly decamped in the night. He was eventually caught near Argungu and deported to Lokoja, where he died in 1926.

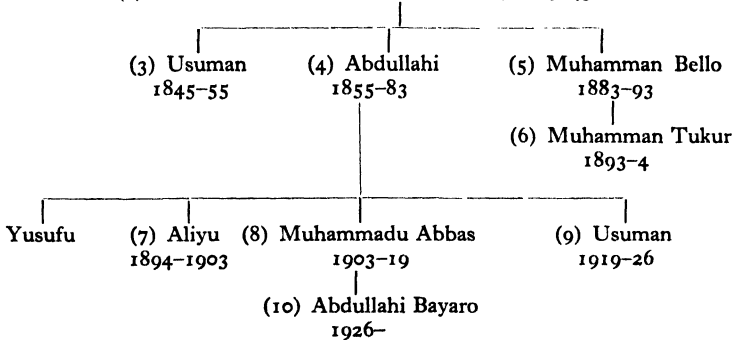
*Aliyu
harbours
the Ma-
gajin
Keffi*

*British
Expedi-
tion
against
Kano*

THE FULANI EMIRS OF KANO

(1) Sulemanu of the Modibawa Clan, 1809-19

(2) Ibrahim Dabo of the Sulibawa Clan, 1819-45



The Waziri carried on the advance, but a small British force of Mounted Infantry encountered them at Kotorkoshi, and in the ensuing fight the Waziri and other chiefs were killed and the army scattered. The Wambai, Muhammadu Abbas, who had previously held aloof, now proceeded quickly to Kano with his adherents and made his submission to Sir Frederick Lugard.

*Waziri
defeated
at Kotor-
koshi
Muham-
madu
Abbas
(1903-
19)*

Usuman In April 1903 he was formally installed as Emir. He was succeeded in 1919 by his brother Usuman, the Wambai, who in turn
 (1919-26)
Abdullah was succeeded in 1926 by the Chiroma, Bayaro, son of Abbas.
Bayaro
 (1926)

2. Daura

The Daura claims to be the oldest of the Hausa States, and the
Daura well-known legend of the serpent-killer seems to support this.
Legend The Daura people have been called perhaps the most typical of all the Hausa tribes.

The legend runs as follows: A certain stranger came to the town and drew water from a well where a serpent called 'Sarki' lived. On drawing up the bucket he found the serpent inside, and when it attacked him he cut off its head with his sword. The queen was so entranced at the news that she forthwith gave herself in marriage to the stranger, who turned out to be Bawo, son of Bayajidda, son of the King of Bagdad, his mother being the daughter of the King of Bornu.¹ From that time Makas-Sarki (snake slayer), shortened to Sarki, became the name for king.

The Before this Daura had been ruled by queens, and the legend
Queens serves as evidence that in early times the Hausa States favoured
of Daura uterine descent. The ancient well is still pointed out to visitors. In the Tuareg language 'Daura' means 'blacksmith'; the Tuaregs say that the Daurawa were originally conquered by the Kanuri, who were again overcome by the Gobirawa.

Mallam At the time of the Fulani conquest Mallam Isiaku drove out
Isiaku the Kado chief Abdu, who was killed in 1809 in an unsuccessful
drives out attempt to retake the town. After this Daura territory became
Abdu divided into three parts: (1) Daura Fulani, in and around Daura
Partition town itself; (2) Daura Baure, round Baure, twenty-seven miles
of Daura south-east of Daura, where a Fulani nominee was set up, and
 (3) Daura Zango, round Zango (twelve miles east of Daura), where the rival Kado faction established itself.

During the last century Daura suffered considerably from the fact that she was situated between Kano and Damagaram, who were constantly raiding each other.

On the British Occupation the Baure section went to the French, and much of the Zango section also, but not the Kado

¹ See Kano and Hadejia sections.

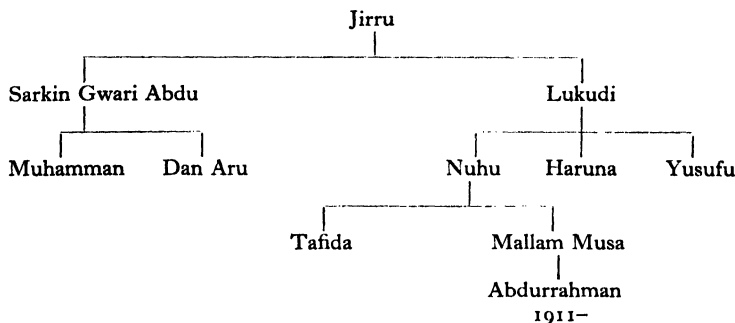
chief Mallam Musa, nor the Fulani chief in Daura. Owing to the ineptitude of the Fulani ruling family, Mallam Musa was made Emir of all the Daura territory which remained in British hands. After some trouble at the start, the experiment turned out to be most successful. This is the only instance of the Kado dynasty having been restored, and it is most apt that it has happened in Daura.

*Kado
Dynasty
restored;
Mallam
Musa*

On Mallam Musa's death in 1911 he was succeeded by his son Abdurrahman.

*Abdur-
rahman
(1911)*

HABE RULING FAMILY OF DAURA



3. Hadejia

Before the Fulani Conquest at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the country now known as the Hadejia Emirate was composed of seven separate kingdoms, whose chiefs received their titles from, and owed allegiance to, the Kado Galadima of Bornu. These were Auyo, Hadejia, Garin Gabbas (Mabudi), Gatarwa (Sarkin Dawaki), Kazure (Sarkin Arewa), Fagi (Sarkin Arewa), and Dawa (Chiroma). One authority says that the most ancient and important was Auyo, said to have been founded in 1400 by a Bagarmi named Auyo, whose brothers Tashe and Shirra are reputed to have founded Tashena and Shirra (in Katagum) at the same time.

*Hadejia
originally
composed
of seven
kingdoms
under
Bornu*

Auyo

Another authority gives pride of place to Garin Gabbas which, it is said, was originally called Biram. The well-known legend is that Biram was the father of the Hausa States (see Kano section) and one of the Hausa Bakwai. A story goes that the town was founded by Arabs from Bagdad. One Muhtari, or Bayajidda, came from the East until he reached Bornu (Kukawa),

*Garin
Gabbas
(Biram)*

where the reigning chief gave Muhtari his daughter in marriage. Muhtari subsequently went to Daura (where he slew the fetish and married the queen), but on the way his Bornu wife gave birth to a son called Biram, who founded the town. Yet another version says that Muhtari's younger brother was called Biram and that he founded the town. The present chief of Garin Gabbas claims descent from this Arab family.

There is a tradition that Hadejia was founded by a Kanuri hunter named Hadejia, who came from Machina,¹ and was the first of a long line of kings (32).

Umaru Towards the end of the eighteenth century a certain Fulani cattle owner named Umaru settled close to Hadejia and succeeded in obtaining the title of Sarkin Fulanin Hadejia. His father had originally come from Machina, and settled at Jar-mari, a few miles north of Hadejia.

The Jihad On hearing the news of the jihad (1805), Umaru at once sent his brother Sambo to the Shehu for a flag and the Kado King Abubakr submitted without delay. Within a few months Auyo, Gatarwa, Garin Gabbas, and Kazure had submitted to Umaru, while the two remaining kingdoms of Fagi and Dawa were given by the Shehu to Larmina, a cousin of Umaru, who styled himself Sarkin Marma.

Sambo In 1808 Umaru was allowed to transfer his title to his son
(1808-45) Mamman Kankiya, but within the year both father and son died. Umaru's brother Sambo succeeded and from him have sprung all subsequent Emirs of Hadejia.

In 1810 he moved from Umaru's residence at Rinde, just outside the northern gate of the town, and took up his residence in Hadejia town itself, which he considerably enlarged. On his entry the Habe inhabitants left the town and settled outside the eastern gate.

Sambo abdicates After a comparatively peaceful reign of thirty-seven years Sambo abdicated in favour of his eldest son, Garko, who died two years later (1847). His brother Abdulkadiri, who succeeded him, himself died within a few months, to be followed almost at once by his aged father.

¹ It is recorded in the Kano Chronicle that the son of the Sarkin Machina came to Kano in the reign of Yakubu (1452-63), and was made chief of Hadejia with the title of Sarkin Gabbas.

Sambo's third son, the Chiroma Buhari, now succeeded to the 'sarauta' against the dying wish of his father, who had nominated his fourth son, Ahmadu.¹

Buhari proved to be a bold and cruel ruler. One of his first acts was to have the Sarkin Auyo assassinated.

The Sarkin Musulmi, Aliu Babba, sent word to have him deposed, but Buhari refused to listen. On the approach of the Katagum forces, under the Waziri of Sokoto, Buhari retired with his followers, and Ahmadu was installed as Emir (1850). Having defeated the Sarkin Machina, Buhari returned to Hadejia (reinforced by the Shehu of Bornu) who was quite ready to put a spoke in the Sokoto wheel. He routed the Katagum forces, and put Ahmadu to death (1851).

Having now openly defied and thrown off all semblance of allegiance to Sokoto,² he proceeded to enrich himself by a series of raids and expeditions on all sides. Marma was captured after tunnelling under the walls and became part of Hadejia, thus bringing the Emirate to its present size. Buhari died in 1863 in an unsuccessful expedition against the Badawa at Gworgworam. His reign furnishes a remarkable record of combined courage and ruthlessness.

Buhari was succeeded by his son Umaru, despite the strong protests of Buhari's brothers, one of whom, Haru, eventually succeeded in obtaining a sufficiently strong backing to force Umaru to abdicate.

Haru reigned nearly twenty years (1865-85). He defeated and killed the Sarkin Gumel at Zaburam in 1872, but did not fare so well against Ningi nor against the Badawa, who severely defeated him at Gworgworam.

Haru was succeeded by his son Muhammadu (1885-1906). Most of his reign, like that of his predecessors, was spent in fighting. After the Kano civil war of 1893, although he had rendered no support, he pretended that he had been promised Miga and Kwanda and promptly annexed them by force.³ He was killed in 1906 while defending Hadejia against the British.

¹ It is said that Buhari impersonated Ahmadu at his father's death-bed and thus wrongfully obtained his father's blessing.

² The Sarkin Musulmi appointed Tukur after Ahmadu's death, but he never dared to assert his claim.

³ They were returned to Kano on the British occupation in 1903.

*Buhari
succeeds
(1848)*

*He is de-
posed
(1850)
but re-
turns
(1851)*

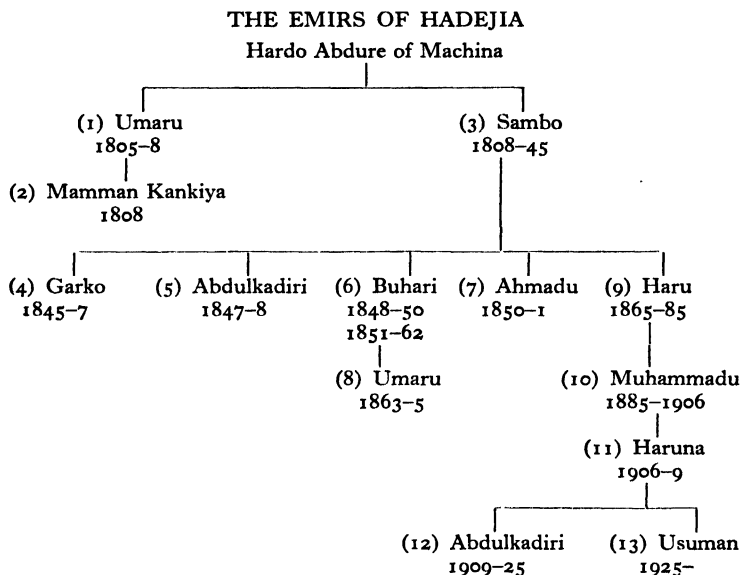
*Umaru
(1863-5)*

*Haru
(1865-
85)*

*Muham-
madu
(1885-
1906)*

Haruna Haruna, his son, a very quiet man, was appointed to succeed him, and on his death in 1909 his son, Abdulkadiri, who was then only a youth, was appointed Emir. In 1925 Abdulkadiri died, and was succeeded by his brother Usuman.

Abdulkadiri
(1909-25)
Usuman
(1925)



4. Gumel

Dan Juma A certain Dan Juma, the son of Musa, came to Dogoma about the middle of the eighteenth century, with a small following of Mangawa. His nephew Adamu (Karro) was one day elected chief owing to Dan Juma's unpopularity. After ruling six years he was killed in a cattle-raid and was succeeded by his brother, Dan Juma, who is said to have founded Gumel.¹ After his death the Kado Sarkin Bornu seems to have taken the little kingdom under his wing, and the Shehu of Bornu continued to exact tribute from Gumel during the nineteenth century.

Dan Auwa At the beginning of this century, under Dan Auwa, Gumel engaged in many successful raids, but after his death in 1828 the Gumel fortunes seem to have declined, the town being sacked by Damagaram.

¹ The natives frequently call it Lautaye.

There followed a long record of petty fights with Hadejia and Kano until eventually, in 1872, the Gumelawa were decisively defeated by Hadejia at Zaburam, their king, Abdullahi, being killed. This put an end to the protracted Gumel-Hadejia war.

Gumel-Hadejia War

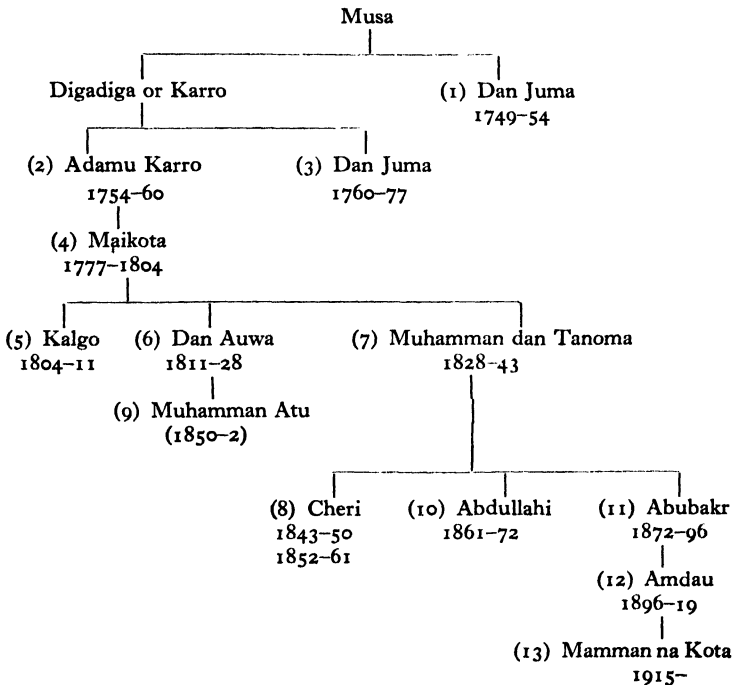
Towards the end of the century Damagaram seems to have raided with impunity, penetrating right into the town of Gumel on at least two occasions, and the Emirate became almost depopulated.

Damagaram Raids

Amadu submitted to the British in 1903, and since then the people have been returning in large numbers. Amadu was deposed in 1915 and succeeded by Mamman na Kota.

*Amadu (1896-1915)
Mamman na Kota (1915)*

THE EMIRS OF GUMEL



5. Kazaure

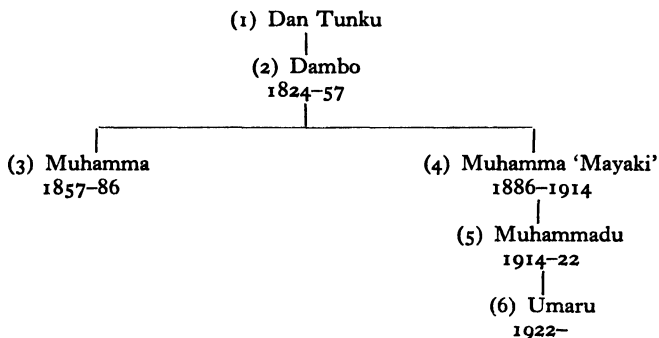
The Sarkin Musulmi carved the Emirate of Kazaure out of the adjoining States of Kano, Katsina, and Daura to make a kingdom for a favourite chief, Dan Tunku, a Fulani of the Yari-

Dan Tunku

*Inde-
pendence
granted
(1824)
Dambo
(1824-
57)*

mawa clan settled at Danbarta, who helped to drive out the Kado Emir of Kano. It was placed under the suzerainty of the Emir of Kano, but on the Emir's death in 1819 Dan Tunku refused to follow his successor. A force was sent to subdue him but he repulsed it, and Sarkin Musulmi Mamman Bello fixed a boundary and gave Kazaure independence (1824). Dan Tunku died the same year and was succeeded by his son, Dambo, who built the existing walls and moved his residence here from Danbarta. It is not possible to sink wells by native methods inside the town itself, hence it is quite unsuited to withstand a siege. The attached genealogical table shows the succession up to modern times.

THE EMIRS OF KAZAURE



ZARIA PROVINCE

1. *Zaria*

ZAZAU (or Zakzak) was one of the original seven Hausa States. It is not clear whether there was ever a town called Zazau or what was the origin of the name. It would appear more correct to talk about the Province or Emirate of Zazau than of Zaria, since Zaria is merely the name of the capital founded in the reign of the twenty-second ruler of Zazau. The people are called, in Hausa, Zazzagawa (sing. Ba-Zazzagi). *Origin of Zazau*

The Zaria Chronicle contains a list of sixty rulers before the Fulani Conquest. The first of these was called Gunguma, and was the son of Bawo, the hero of the Daura snake legend,¹ and therefore, if we can believe the legend, an Arab from Bagdad. *Sixty Habe Kings Gunguma the 1st King Bakua*

There is also a tradition that many years ago one Bakua² came from the south to the Turunku hills, where her slaves built the town of Turunku,³ while she was away warring with Nupe. Furthermore, it is thought that she was that Bakua Turunku who was the twenty-second ruler recorded in the Zaria Chronicle. She is said to have had two famous daughters, Amina and Zaria.

The elder daughter Amina is said to have travelled extensively and to have built walled camps wherever she halted, which probably accounts for the fact that all over the Hausa country ancient town walls are called 'Ganwar Amina', although not necessarily built by her. *Amina*

Her fame in war is common knowledge, so much so that the extent of her conquests must not be believed too literally. Among other places, she is said to have conquered Kano and Katsina. It is said that she died in Attagara.

¹ See Daura and Hadejia sections.

² A foreigner.

³ Turunku is still a big town seventeen miles south of Zaria with extensive ruins. The ruins of Bakua's house and her burial place are still an object of pilgrimage. The Emir's house in Zaria is sometimes spoken of as Gidan Bakua.

The Kano Chronicle says:

At this time Zaria, under Queen Amina, conquered all the towns as far as Kwararafa and Nupe. Every town paid tribute to her. The Sarkin Nupe sent forty eunuchs and ten thousand kola nuts to her. She first had eunuchs and kola nuts in Hausaland. In her time the whole of the products of the west were brought to Hausaland. Her conquests extended over thirty-four years.

Zaria Her younger sister Zaria gave her name to Zaria town, the capital of Zazau, which either she herself or Bakua founded about 1536. The original site was at the foot of that prominent landmark, the rock called Kofena, two miles north of the present town. There are signs of an ancient stronghold prior to this on the top of the rock. At some date before the jihad the town was moved to its present position on the left bank of the Kubanni River. Zaria died at Yawuri. The subsequent kings of Zaria seem to have been sometimes Muslim and sometimes pagan. For instance, Jatau, who reigned from 1742 to 1802, is said to have been converted to Islam and to have built a mosque. His son Makau, however, reverted to paganism, and on his accession demolished the mosque.

*Kings
some-
times
Muslim,
some-
times
Pagan*

*Mallam
Musa
(1804-
21)* On hearing the news of the Fulani rising in Gobir in 1804 a certain Fulani, Mallam Musa, who had been preaching for many years in Zaria, went to Gobir and received a flag from the Shehu. He and a Bornuese Fulani named Yamusa returned to Zaria with an army, and the pagan king Makau fled with many of his subjects until they settled at Zuba among the pagans in what is now Abuja.

*Yamusa
(1821-
34)
Abdul-
karim
(1834-
46)* On Mallam Musa's death in 1821 he was succeeded by Yamusa, and on his death in 1834 came a Katsina Fulani, a pupil of Mallam Musa named Abdulkarim; it is from these three families (with one exception)¹ that each successive Emir has been chosen.

An old Hausa custom, which the Fulani have nominally maintained, is that two offices of state should be held by women.

*British
Expedi-
tion
(1900)* In 1900, during the reign of Kwassau, Zaria was visited by two British columns. In 1901, at the request of the Emir, a company of soldiers was stationed at Zaria as a protection against the raiding proclivities of the Sarkin Sudan of Kontagora.

¹ Abdussalame (1860-3), first and only Emir of the Sulibawa dynasty. He held the rank of Makama under Mallam Musa; he was killed in action.

The Province of Zaria was formed in 1902, and during this year Kwassau was deposed for intriguing with the Emir of Kano, who was at that time still hostile to the British. Aliu dan Sidi, of the original Mallawa dynasty, was appointed Emir in 1903. He reigned for twenty years.

In 1902 the three Emirates of Keffi, Nasarawa, and Jemaa, which had previously been tributary to Zaria, were removed from the suzerainty of the Emir of Zaria and made independent. This was a humiliation for the murder of Captain Moloney at Keffi by the Magajin Keffi, an accredited agent of the Emir Kwassau, who was sheltered first by the Emir of Zaria and then by the Emirs of Kano and Sokoto. They all had bitter cause to regret it.

Kwassau deposed (1902) and Aliu installed (1902-23) Keffi, Nasarawa, and Jemaa made independent

THE FULANI EMIRS OF ZARIA

| | | | | |
|------------------|---------------------|--------------|-----------|--|
| (m) ¹ | 1. Mallam Musa | <i>circa</i> | 1804-21 | Founder of Mallawa dynasty. |
| (b) | 2. Yamusa | „ | 1821-34 | Founder of Bornuese dynasty. |
| (k) | 3. Abdulkarim | „ | 1834-46 | Founder of Katsina dynasty. |
| (b) | 4. Hamadu | „ | 1846 | Son of Yamusa. |
| (b) | 5. Muhamman Sani | „ | 1846-60 | Son of Yamusa. |
| (m) | 6. Sidi Abdulkadiri | „ | 1860 | Son of Mallam Musa. Deposed. |
| (s) | 7. Abdussalame | „ | 1860-3 | First and only Emir of Sulibawa dynasty. |
| (b) | 8. Abdullahi | „ | { 1863-73 | Son of Hamadu (4). Deposed. |
| | | „ | { 1876-81 | Restored and again deposed. |
| (m) | 9. Abubakar | „ | 1873-6 | Son of Mallam Musa. |
| (k) | 10. Sambo | „ | 1881-90 | Son of Abdulkarim (3). Deposed. |
| (b) | 11. Yero | „ | 1890-7 | Son of Abdullahi (8). |
| (b) | 12. Kwassau | „ | 1897-1902 | Son of Yero (11). Deposed. |
| (m) | 13. Aliyu | „ | 1902-23 | Son of Sidi Abdulkadiri (6). Deposed. |
| (b) | 14. Dalhatu | „ | 1923-4 | Son of Yero. |
| (b) | 15. Ibrahim | „ | 1924 | Son of Kwassau. |

2. Katsina

There is a legend that the first Katsina dynasty was founded by one Kumayo and that he ruled at Durbi ta Kusheyi (eighteen miles to the south-east of the present town of Katsina), where seven large tumuli are said to contain the bones of the early kings. As in Kano, foreigners from the East are supposed to have arrived from about the tenth century, but it is thought that

Ku-mayo's Dynasty

- ¹ (m) = Mallawa dynasty.
 (b) = Bornu dynasty.
 (k) = Katsina dynasty.
 (s) = Sulibawa dynasty.

Kumayo's dynasty was not founded until the twelfth, or even later.

Previous to this there existed a race of aborigines similar to the Abagayawa of Kano. It is said that Kumayo was the son of Bawo and the grandson of Bayajidda, the famous snake-slayer of the Daura legend, who came from Bagdad, and was the progenitor of the kings of the seven Hausa States, of which Katsina was one.

Origin of Katsina The name Katsina is said to be derived from a princess of Daura who married Janzama, king of the Durbawa, who ruled at Durbi ta Kusheyi. Those who credit this story say that Janzama was conquered by Kumayo. It is also said that the early kings were chosen alternately from the house of Kumayo and the descendants of Janzama. The former by virtue of their descent from Bayajidda were known as Larabawa. The latter were called Durbawa from their place of origin. The distinction is still preserved at Maradi, where the Katsinawa Habe were forced to settle after the jihad.

Sanau It is said that the last chief of Kumayo's dynasty was called Jidda Yaki or Sanau, and that about the middle of the fifteenth century a certain mallam of western extraction called Korau¹ came from Yandoto (in the region of Chafe) and killed Sanau, thus establishing a new dynasty.

Korau kills Sanau The story, which is somewhat reminiscent of Samson and Delilah, is that Korau was a former playmate of Sanau and that he knew that Sanau was unequalled at wrestling owing to a certain charm which he wore attached to his girdle. Korau was invited to a feast by Sanau, and, having persuaded Sanau's wife to steal this charm, he challenged him to a wrestling bout. Robbed of his hidden strength Sanau was quickly thrown, and while he was on the ground Korau treacherously stabbed him to death.

The sword with which Korau murdered Sanau is still preserved among the insignia of Katsina, and to this day the Emir of Katsina carries it in his hand when he addresses the crowd in front of the Kan-giwa after returning from the Sallar

¹ Some think that *korau* is a Hausa word meaning 'the expeller', but others believe that it implies an individual of the Wakore or Wangara race. The Wakore were the subject people of the rulers of Ghana and Malle.

Idi. It is known as *Yanka mashidi bakon Sanau*, or 'the guest of Sanau who killed his host'. Some even say that this sword was Sanau's charm. One might here observe that Katsina Laka was a name given to the Kogo-Chafe-Kotorkoshi region, much of which is now included in Sokoto Province. This suggests that possibly the Katsina referred to in those days was not on the site of the modern town, but in Katsina Laka. The tombs at Durbi ta Kusheyi may be merely the tombs of the local chiefs and not of the Katsina kings.¹

*Katsina
Laka* †

To-day the District Head bears the title Durbi and controls a district which includes the tumuli. It is not certain when the present town was founded, or became the capital of the Katsina State.

Ali Murabus is said to have commenced building the outer walls called Ganwar Amina (c. 1436). At the same time, Leo Africanus, who visited Katsina towards the end of the fifteenth century, speaks merely of grass huts and not of a walled town.

The change of dynasty, however, made as usual little difference to the populace. In fact the new and the old continued together quite amicably, the latter being particularly respected by the former for their knowledge of magic and the local deities. Possibly for this reason the election of new chiefs rested with the latter, but in course of time the privilege lapsed and chiefs were elected alternately, the right of nomination becoming vested in Kaura Durbi and Galadima.

*Korau's
Dynasty*

There is a story told locally illustrating the ceremonies attending the election of a new chief. It was the duty of an official called Karia Giwa to kill the king whenever he appeared likely to die. His body was then wrapped in the skin of a black ox which had previously been slaughtered over the newly elected king so that he became drenched with its blood, and the body was dragged on the ground to the burial place, where it was buried in an upright position. There were various other mysterious rites in connexion with the election of the new king.

*Election
Cere-
monies*

There is evidence that Korau's successor was converted to Islam by a celebrated missionary called El Maghili from Tuat

*Islamic
Influences*

¹ There are also tumuli at Bugaji, ten miles west of Katsina.

in the year 1493.¹ In the *Tarikh es Sudan* we read of at least two eminent mallams from the Sankore University of Timbuktu, Makhluḥ ben Ali and Muhammad ben Ahmed, who visited Katsina about this time; the latter actually settled in Katsina and was treated with the greatest respect, being made a judge. Islam, therefore, was certainly beginning to take root at the end of the fifteenth century, and when in 1512 the Askia of Songhay, a man of singularly devout principles, conquered Katsina, it received a distinct impulse. The bulk of the people, as ever, bore the change with equanimity. It has been observed that the open nature of the Hausa country has afforded ample opportunity for free intercourse between tribes and towns, with the inevitable result that the Hausa-speaking peoples, besides being largely traders, are moderately free from ignorant prejudices and quite adaptable to new ideas.

War with Kano It is towards the end of the fifteenth century (in the reign of Sarkin Kano Muhammad Rumfa) that history records the first encounters with Kano. On the whole Kano seems to have prevailed, but in the usual spasmodic manner. In 1512 came the temporary overlordship of Songhay, previously mentioned, and again in 1554 the Askia Daud invaded the Hausa States.² From 1570 to 1650 there was a long period of perpetual feuds with Kano.

It is probable that hostilities only ceased owing to the pressure of the Kwararafa, whose capital lay on the Gongila. In 1653 the Kwararafa, led by Adashu, invaded Kano, and eighteen years later they captured Kano city.

With Kwararafa Some time about this date the Kwararafa attacked Katsina. They made a breach in the walls and occupied the western corner of the city. The King of Katsina still held out in the inner citadel of the Kan-giwa, but many of the inhabitants were cast alive into a great pit which is still known as Giwa-Raki. For some reason the Kwararafa did not push home their success. Tradition tells that their general was kicked in the groin as he was mounting his horse for the final assault. He died on the spot and the Kwararafa fled in dismay.

¹ The first Muslim king is locally reported to have been Muhammad Korau (c. 1390).

² See Songhay chapter for a more detailed account.

It is hard to trace an exact record of the varying degrees of independence that Katsina enjoyed during this time, but it must have been an anxious period. On the south was the continual thorn of Kano and in later years the menace of Kwararafa; on the east lay the powerful Bornu Empire, while from the north or west there was always the liability of a Songhay or Kebbi invasion. Considering all things Katsina was fortunate in steering a safe course amid these perils.

When the Songhay Empire was broken up by the Moors at the end of the sixteenth century, it appears that Katsina transferred her allegiance to Bornu. Dan Marina, a famous Katsina mallam, after whom the cemetery near the Crafts School is named, wrote a song of deliverance for Mai Ali of Bornu to commemorate his success over Kwararafa.

*Allegiance to
Bornu*

By this time the city had grown to a considerable size with a circuit of nearly fourteen miles. To illustrate the diversity of its interests and activities, it is remarkable to note the number and names of its quarters, which speak to the great Songhay and Malle influence in the original town. Apart from the smaller ones there were about a hundred principal quarters, as for instance, the official quarter, the old quarter, quarters for people from Bornu, from Gobir, from Malle, from Songhay, from Asben, quarters for the various trades, a students' quarter, a dancing quarter, and a quarter at each of the eight gates.

*Katsina
City in
the 17th
Century*

With the fall of the Songhay Empire Katsina became, if not the first, at least one of the leading cities of the Western Sudan. The old prosperity and learning of Songhay became diverted this way, so that Katsina found herself a city of wide repute, a conscious apostle of civilization. The leather-working trade for which Agades is famous was introduced to Katsina by the Songhays. Her citizens were renowned for their manners and courtesy, her schools for their learning, her administration and judiciary for their wisdom. Before the ruin brought by the Fulani régime Katsina was a very important commercial centre with all caravans converging in her direction. She occupied the position which Kano has since assumed, and in those days Kano was much inferior both in prosperity and learning. Her sway extended over Maradi to the north, Zamfara to the west, and all the land to the south as far as Birnin Gwari. But in the

middle of the eighteenth century Gobir, freed from her struggles with her hereditary enemies in the north, turned her attention towards the south. Katsina was more successful than Kano in withstanding the warlike Gobirawa, but a great deal of Zamfara and Maradi was lost.

*The
Jihad*

At the beginning of the nineteenth century came the jihad and a final change of régime. As in Kano, Fulani herdsmen had for centuries been drifting into the Hausa States; some had settled down in these new pastures while others had maintained their nomadic habits.

When the news of the Shehu Usuman dan Fodio's revolt in Gobir spread like wildfire through the land, most of these Fulani shepherds threw in their lot with the new movement. It was their enthusiasm which was responsible for stirring up numbers of the easy-going Hausa peasantry, who outwardly at least made some profession of Islam, into a suitably warlike spirit. As usual, the excitement of revolt appealed most strongly to the more unsettled members of the community, but among the few rich clans to assist was the quasi-Fulani clan of the Sulibawa, who became prominent supporters of the movement. The Sulibawa or Sisulbe are said to be of Mandingo origin. At an early date they migrated from the west and settled in the neighbourhood of Sokoto and at Shinkafi near Katsina. The

*Umaru
Dum-
yawa,
Na Al-
haji, and
Umaru
Dallaji*

chief of the Sulibawa at this time was Umaru Dumyawa, then living near Zandam in Jibiya District. On the outbreak of the jihad Umaru Dumyawa, Na Alhaji, and Mallam Umaru of Dallaji (near Bindawa) all went to assist the Shehu, and in due course they were each given a flag and told to spread the faith in Katsina.

There is a story that on being told to take their leave of Mamman Bello, Na Alhaji and Umaru Dumyawa got impatient at waiting outside his door, and Mallam Umaru alone was to be seen when Bello came out. Bello thereupon gave Mallam Umaru precedence over the other two, although he was by rights the junior. At all events when the three arrived at Runka, via Kaura and Tsabre, they had a quarrel, and the story goes on to say that Mallam Umaru slapped Na Alhaji's face. As a result Umaru Dallaji went off alone to attack the Habe Katsinawa, Na Alhaji retired to Zakka, where he died (being succeeded

by his son Mamman Dikko), and Umaru Dumyawa went back to Zandam in the north. Umaru Dumyawa and Mamman Dikko remained passive, but Umaru Dallaji went from Radda to Bainye and thence to Sabongari in Kaura District, where he fought and defeated the Habe. After retiring to Dankama¹ they came back and drove out Umaru, but he again managed to force them back to Dankama, where, it is said, Sarkin Katsina Halidu threw himself down a well in mortification at his defeat.

*Umaru
Dallaji
(1807-
35)
defeats
the Habe
Forces*

The Habe forces, after electing a new chief, made for Damagaram, but fearful of Bornu they eventually went to Maradi and founded the city. Here they settled and followed the Sulibawa,² paying tribute to Umaru Dumyawa in Zandam, who controlled all the country to the north as far as Maradi. Mamman Dikko, who was given the title of Yandaka, controlled the western districts from Tsaure, and both of them as flag-bearers followed Sokoto direct and not Umaru Dallaji, who was now Sarkin Katsina, although they each maintained houses in the city. By the Shehu's orders, they had to confer with Umaru Dallaji in Katsina when necessary, and Umaru Dallaji was more or less recognized as the chief by virtue of his activities against the Habe.³

*The Habe
settle in
Maradi*

*Decen-
traliza-
tion*

It is worthy of note that the Emir of Katsina never attained the autocratic powers enjoyed by the Emirs of some of the other states. Yandaka, Sarkin Sulibawa, Maradi of Kurfi, Dangi of Yantumaki, Gatari of Umadau, Dan Yabi of Muniya, and Sarkin Fulani of Yan Rundau all paid direct allegiance to the Sarkin Musulmi and received their turbans at his hands. Sarkin Katsina was Emir or Governor of the Sarkin Musulmi and was *primus inter pares*.

Umaru Dallaji was appointed Emir in 1807, the year in which he finally drove out the Habe. No fewer than three Habe kings were killed in this struggle before Umaru Dallaji had properly established the Fulani supremacy, and he owed a great measure of his success to Namoda, chief of the Alibawa, who brought help from Zamfara, and the Sarkin Ahir of Agades.

¹ It is estimated that 39,000 removed to Dankama, including all the nobility. A great number remained and submitted to the Fulani.

² There were, of course, many revolts.

³ Yarima Abdu, son of Abubakr (deposed), is the authority for this.

Umaru died in 1835, and the Galadima of Sokoto, the official intermediary with the Sarkin Musulmi, arrived to appoint Sidi-
Sidiku ku, Umaru's second son, in preference to the eldest son, on
 (1835-44) account of his reputed learning and piety. Eight years later a serious attempt was made to reinstate the Habe power in Katsina. Umaru Dumiya had been succeeded by his son Abubakr as Sarkin Sulibawa, and his demands for money from Maradi fanned the smouldering ashes into flames. Umaru dan Mari,¹
Dan a descendant of the Habe dynasty, came down south from
Mari's Maradi through the then well-populated Rubu bush; the Ru-
Revolt mawa immediately threw in their lot with him. From Ruma he came to Muniya, thence to Wurma, and finally established himself at Karofi with a strong following. Sidiku hastily sent to Sokoto for help and Kano was told to supply reinforcements. At the battle of Taura near Karofi, Dan Mari was defeated by the joint Fulani forces, but he managed to escape as a fugitive to Maradi.²

Depopulation of the Country Sidiku wreaked a merciless vengeance on those towns³ which had harboured the invader, and the result of the invasion itself and Sidiku's vengeance is that this once thickly populated country has been, until recently, almost uninhabited bush. Most of the villages moved bodily to Maradi.

Sidiku Two years later Sidiku had become so self-satisfied and
deposed oppressive that the Sarkin Musulmi deposed him in favour of
in favour his elder brother, Muhamma Bello. In this reign Barth visited
of Mu- Katsina. In 1869 Muhamma Bello was succeeded by Ahmadu
hamma Rufai, who only reigned eight months before he died and was
Bello succeeded by Ibrahim, son of Muhamma Bello.
 (1844-69)

Ahmadu In 1882 Musa, son of Umaru Dallaji, succeeded his nephew
Rufai Ibrahim, but he was then a very old man. On his death five
 (1869) years later the title reverted to Abubakr, grandson of Muhamma
Ibrahim Bello, the eldest son of Umaru Dallaji. Musa and his son Yero
 (1870-82) (who was made Durbi) immediately began to despoil Ibrahim's family and especially Abubakr (then Yarima). When Musa
Musa

(1882-7) *Abubakr* ¹ He succeeded Rauda, who was killed by Bello at Gawakuki when he attacked Sokoto.

(1887-1905) ² Another account says he was killed at Matazu, where he had established himself (see p. 77).

³ Matazu was destroyed as a rebel town after Dan Mari's defeat.

died Abubakr revenged himself on Musa's family, so that on Yero's accession in 1905 he and his family had been virtually paupers for seventeen years.

Meanwhile, the Habe in Maradi had more than once demonstrated that they were still a power to be reckoned with. They still maintained their old political machinery. The Chief Council consisted of the following, assisted by the Kadi: ¹

Dan kaka, Confidential Adviser.

Galadima, Eunuch.

Durbi, Chief Lord.

Kaura, War Chief.

Four kings succeeded Dan Mari and then came Dan Baskore, the greatest of all the Habe generals, who once more devastated the Ruma bush. He brought war to the gates of Katsina, and at Kabakawa, during a night sortie, the Sarkin Katsina only just escaped with his life. After further fighting on the River Jani, Dan Baskore returned to Tessawa.

Next year he returned by the Hainyar Hanayi (west of the Forest Reserve and east of the Hainyar Baturiya) and came right down to Karaye; ² from here he went on to Fatika, in Zaria country, where there was heavy fighting. During his reign Maradi reached the height of her prosperity.

After Dan Baskore came his son Bermu or Barafiya. He came down and invaded Kano via Ruma, Rawayo, Kankiya, Kafarda, and Yangworzo near Bichi, where he established himself for a while before returning home. Mazawaje, who succeeded him, was a man of peace and refused to war with the Fulani. For this reason after a period of forty years people began to trickle back to the devastated regions of Ruma, but unfortunately Mazawaje was soon deposed by the Maradi Habe, who could countenance nothing but war with the Fulani, and took refuge with the Sarkin Musulmi in Sokoto. This resulted in further wars and once again Ruma was depopulated.

Mallam invaded as far as Kiru and, after an interval of three kings, Mijinyawa penetrated to Kafur, south-east of Mulum-

¹ See *Historique du Katsina* supplied by the Commandant of the District of Maradi.

² These two roads, cut straight through the bush, were recognized raiding-roads, the Hainyar Baturiya going to Chafe, the Hainyar Hanayi towards Kano and Zaria. They can still be traced.

fashi. In his time Maradi was divided into two camps, one of which followed him, and the other Neibo.

*War with
the Habe*

Four years before the British Occupation, Kaura sent to Sokoto and gave warning of a proposed invasion by Mijinyawa and the Sarkin Gobir. Abubakr, Sarkin Katsina, was told to bring help and he sent Muhammadu, Kankiyar Ruma, a renowned warrior, generally known as Dan Were, in command; and among other chiefs Durbi Muhammadu Dikko, the present Emir. There was a tremendous conflict. The present Sarkin Ruma relates how he saw his father spur out of the Fulani ranks and single out the Sarkin Gobir before the two armies drawn up in battle array. His father speared the Sarkin Gobir through the chest, whereupon the Habe army turned and fled in confusion.

*Dan
Were*

When Dan Were, Kankiyar Ruma, took the captured horses to the Sarkin Musulmi at Sokoto, he was given the title of Sarkin Yaki and the country of Ruma; Abubakr thereupon transferred the title of Kankiya to his son. Unfortunately the Sarkin Yaki, who is still living, proved to be a man of too independent character to make a successful District Head, and was deposed in favour of his son, who still holds the appointment.

*Relations
with
Sokoto*

By this time close personal relations with Sokoto had been lost. Formerly an annual tribute used to be paid to the Galadima of Sokoto on behalf of the Sarkin Musulmi. This was originally of small value; it was accepted as a present and a portion was remitted to the donors. Latterly the tribute had become an impost extracted from unwilling payers.

*The
British
Occupation*

*Yero
(1905-6)*

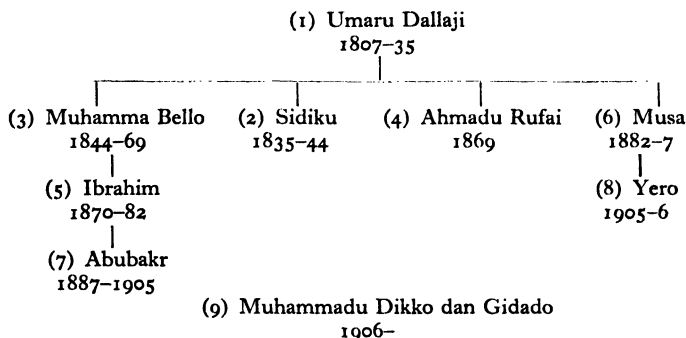
*Muham-
madu
Dikko
(1906)*

The British Occupation found Abubakr still reigning, and he was confirmed as Emir by Sir Frederick Lugard. A charge, which some declare to be false, was shortly brought against Abubakr of polluting the station well, and he was deposed in favour of Yero, son of Musa. Yero, however, proved a complete failure, and in 1906 the Governor appointed Muhammadu Dikko, son of Gidado, who was then Durbi. Muhammadu Dikko is a Ba-Sulube who has risen by his own merits.¹ His grandfather, Dahiru, was a Shinkafi man who was given the post of Collector of Tolls and a house at the Kofar Samri by Muhamma Bello. When the son, Gidado, grew up as a noted warrior, Muhamma

¹ He is not directly descended, as is said, from Umaru Dumyawa.

Bello, who had only one son Ibrahim, took a liking to the young man and treated him as a second son. He first gave him the title of Marusa, then of Kankiya, and later made him Durbi. When Durbi Gidado died, Musa, who was then Emir, ignored Gidado's family and made his own son, Yero, Durbi. On Abubakr's accession, however, Yero was dispossessed in favour of Gidado's younger brother Sada. On the latter's death, Abubakr appointed Muhammadu Dikko, son of Gidado, Durbi, and as such he remained until he was appointed Emir in 1906. For over twenty years he has acquitted himself successfully and can lay claim to being one of the most progressive Emirs in the country. He has twice been to England, has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and has been honoured with the King's Medal for African Chiefs.

FULANI EMIRS OF KATSINA



SOKOTO PROVINCE

SOKOTO town was only founded at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Previous to this the country which we now know as Sokoto Province was divided into three: the western portion formed the ancient kingdom of Kebbi, the north-eastern that of Gobir, and the south-eastern portion the country of Zamfara.

1. *Kebbi*¹

Kanta We read in the *Tarikh es Sudan* of how Kanta, the Governor of Leka, in the Songhay Province of Kebbi, revolted and set himself up as an independent sovereign. The Kebbi account differs, but Kebbi history dates from the time of Kanta. The Kebbawa give a detailed account of Kanta's forebears dating from the time of the Prophet, but the story can only claim to be at all authentic from the time of Kanta's grandfather, said to have been a ward-head of Birnin Bawa in Katsina country. Kanta's father also occupied this position, but he was dismissed from his post and shortly afterwards he died of small-pox. Being neglected by his relations, Kanta ran away to a Fulani camp, where he was employed as a herd-boy. He became noted for his skill in boxing and wrestling, and also for his fierce temper and general moodiness.

After some years he collected his boon companions and with them founded the hamlet of Surame, himself being elected Village Head. Even here he was conspicuous for his ill behaviour. His District Head complained of him and finally told him that he would break up his village. On attempting to carry out his threat he was stabbed to death by Kanta, who then became an outlaw, though he still kept in touch with his village of Surame.

Kanta attacks the Askia At this time it was the custom for the kings of Songhay to travel once a year by regular stages from Gao to the eastern borders of the kingdom. It is said that they used to confer with

¹ A more correct spelling would be Kabi, but the spelling *Kebbi* has become sanctioned by usage.

the kings of Bornu on the border. The Askia travelled as usual with a small escort to beyond Kazaure, and on his return the caravan was attacked by Kanta's band of brigands and chased into the present Ariwa Yamma near Bei-bei, whence the Askia only just escaped after his men had been severely handled. This episode attracted a considerable following to Kanta. For six months he had breathing space, during which he raised a considerable force. At the end of this time a punitive expedition was sent from Songhay. It came down the regular trade-route to the neighbourhood of Gaya, meaning to push on to Surame, but Kanta had already gone to the borders of Dandi to catch them unawares, and he was again triumphant.

After this Kanta was left in comparative peace. With his forces he overran the country as far as Daura and Zaria, and even towards Bida, where he established a sub-kingdom of Gabi at Mokwa. Towards the north he brought the Sarkin Azbin to his feet. He then started to build his capital at Surame. This town had seven encircling walls, built at various times during Kanta's reign. But the immensity of Kanta's kingdom necessitated a force of considerable numbers to police this area; so he determined to build a large standing camp not far from Surame.

*Kanta's
Con-
quests*

*Surame
built*

Thus arose the large fortress at Gungu, which was built by forced labour, each section of the forty-foot wall being built by one of the subject races. The nearest water was two and a half miles away. Kanta overcame the difficulty by having a double line of men, ten thousand in number, passing buckets up and down. The Nupe men arrived late, and were told not to use water, but to build their section with mud, stones, and shea-butter. Thus to this day, so it is said, the Nupe portion stands more intact than any other. Most of the forty-foot wall was faced with stone and the ditch was twenty feet deep. The circumference of Gungu, which lies on the main Sokoto-Argungu road, half-way between Tozo and Katami, is over three miles, with four gates. When the building was finished most of the labourers were allowed to go home, but the Zaria men were retained and placed in a colony, now known as Zazzagawa. Inside the walls were the houses of Kanta and his nobles. At first soldiers were allowed to have their women inside, but the latter

*The For-
tress of
Gungu*

soon began to quarrel; so Kanta in summary fashion dismissed them all and made a women's camp about a mile away, to which the men went 'on pass'.

Kanta's Canoe During the wet season marsh roads were impassable. Kanta had the river cleared, built himself a canoe sheathed with copper to hold fifty rowers, and inspected the towns along the Sokoto River by water. The canoe according to local legend now lies buried near Birnin Kebbi, but it is of interest to know that Birnin Gwari also claims to have it.

His last Expedition and Death Numerous stories are told of Kanta's reign, mostly unvouched for, but the story of his death would seem to be founded on a substratum of truth. Kanta being well on in years still retained his fierce nature. Hearing that Daura had risen against him, he gathered his forces and went through Katsina to Daura. There he received an arrow-wound, which caused his death. Bello in the *Im Fakul Matsuri*, however, states that Mai-Ali, Sarkin Bornu, marched an army into Kebbi via Sosa-Baki, keeping north of Daura and Katsina and south of Gobir. He defeated Kanta and settled down to besiege Surame, but, proving too weak to take the town, he retreated by the southern route via Gandi to his own country. Kanta followed him into Bornu, and after gaining some success returned laden with plunder and stopped at Dan Ashita, near the rock of Dugul, in Katsina. Here Kanta was wounded by an arrow,¹ but he managed to reach Jirwa (or Zurmi) before he died. His body was carried back home, having been embalmed over a smoke-fire, and buried in Surame. To confuse the pursuers, graves were dug all along the way. Kanta's treasure, of which he had amassed a large quantity, is said to have been poured into a certain large flat-topped hill between Gungu and Katami, about six miles off the road, and known to this day as 'Kabarin Kanta'.

After the death of Kanta the succession passed to his sons, but the kingdom somewhat declined. The name Kanta became a hereditary title, like Askia and Pharaoh.

Kebbi remained a stout bulwark against the inroads of Song-

¹ Dan Ashita is not far from Ingawa. There is a persistent story that at Dan Ashita leaves of the *rimi* (silk cotton) tree fell on Kanta and caused his death. Certainly the taunt of 'Rimin Dan Ashita' is still used against the Kebbawa, in the same way as to say 'A mazeya' will always provoke a Ba-Gobiri. See Gobir Section.

hay and their Moorish conquerors. Right up to modern times Kebbi has maintained a warlike reputation. Their motto might deservedly be *nemo me impune lacessit*.¹

Birnin Kebbi itself was not built until the time of Tomo, early in the eighteenth century. The Gobirawa were always a strong menace from the north-west, but exactly what success the Kebbawa had against them it is difficult to say. One account is that the Kebbawa paid tribute to Gobir for two hundred and forty years, dating from soon after Kanta's death.

*Birnin
Kebbi
built by
Tomo*

In 1805 Sarkin Kebbi Muhammadu Fodi dan Salema was driven out of Birnin Kebbi by the Fulani under Abdullahi dan Fodio, and although he continued to resist the Fulani till he was killed twenty-two years later, neither he nor any of his successors ever succeeded in recapturing the town. But at the same time the kings of Kebbi, who to this day are directly descended from Kanta, maintained a most valiant resistance in Argungu up to the time of the British Occupation, and more than held their own.

*Fodi
driven
out of
Birnin
Kebbi
by the
Fulani
(1805)*

Abdullahi had been sent by his brother the Shehu Usuman, who was then at Sabongari, twenty miles north of Anka, to conquer the Kebbawa. Aliu Jedo was the chief general, but he was a fiery warrior with a reputation for hot-headedness. After a victorious passage through Kebbi, Abdullahi came to Birnin Kebbi and Fodi came out and submitted peacefully. Abdullahi moved on with the advance guard, but Aliu Jedo, who followed, found the Kebbi army drawn up outside the town and promptly attacked it. After three days' fighting the town was burnt and Fodi fled to Augi.

Later in the year (1805) Shehu moved his head-quarters from Sabongari to Gwandu. Soon after his arrival a large army consisting of Kebbawa, Gobirawa, and Tuaregs moved on Gwandu. Aliu Jedo recklessly decided to advance to meet them despite the saner counsels of Bello and Abdullahi. The Fulani attacked the Kebbawa at Alwassa, twelve miles south-west of Argungu on the Birnin Kebbi road, but suffered a severe defeat, and the position of Shehu at Gwandu became critical. The defences of Gwandu held out, however, and the Kebbawa were eventually driven off.

*Battle of
Alwassa
(1805)*

¹ Mr. Molyneux says that the Kebbawa themselves were poor fighters but good looters. Fighting was done chiefly by Zaberma and Ariwa troops.

Fodi killed (1826) Fodi moved to Kimba near Jega, and although the Fulani cause continued to prosper, he remained a constant thorn in their side until he was finally killed by Buhari dan Shehu in 1826. Ariwa and Zaberma were no less hard to subdue.

Karari, 1st Sarkin Kebbi of Argungu (1826-31) Fodi was succeeded by Karari, who was the first Sarkin Kebbi of Argungu, a naturally strong fortress on the Sokoto River, whither the Kebbi chivalry had repaired after the sack of their old capital.

Abdullahi gave one of Fodi's sons Jibirim, who had made his submission, the title of Sarkin Kebbi, and put him in charge of a town on the Gulbin Zamfara, which by a coincidence bears the similar but quite distinctly different name of Keḃḃe. This town was originally founded by a hunter named Keḃḃe on the site of the present Rest House.¹ It is said that this act caused Karari and the Keḃḃawa to become furiously angry and that many towns revolted.

Sokoto and Gwandu attack Argungu (1831) In 1831 the Fulani Emirs of Sokoto and Gwandu combined to attack Kebbi. They reached Argungu and set the town on fire with blazing arrows, but were unable to force an entry. On the second day the women of Argungu came out and begged that the town might be spared, promising that Karari should be driven out. Bello agreed to this and withdrew to Sokoto.

Karari killed (1831) Karari left Argungu and collected another army, but he was defeated by the Sarkin Gwandu at Zazzagawa and killed at Galema.

Yakubu Nabame (1849-54) For eighteen years after the death of Karari the Keḃḃawa remained submissive to the Fulani. Then in 1849 Yakubu Nabame, Karari's son, was proclaimed Sarkin Kebbi by the rebel Zaberma, and for some years desultory fighting took place with varying success. In 1858 Sarkin Kebbi Mainasara was defeated and slain by Haliru Sarkin Gwandu, but in the following year he was avenged by his successor Sarkin Kebbi Ba'are (1859-60) Muhammadu Ba'are, who defeated and killed Haliru in a battle near Tilli.

Toga (1860-83) After Ba'are came Toga (1860), and in 1866 the famous

¹ Some dispute this distinction and put it down to affectation, but I had it confirmed by Basharu, the Political Agent in Birnin Kebbi, and amongst others by the District Mallam of Keḃḃe when I stopped there in 1925.—S. J. H.

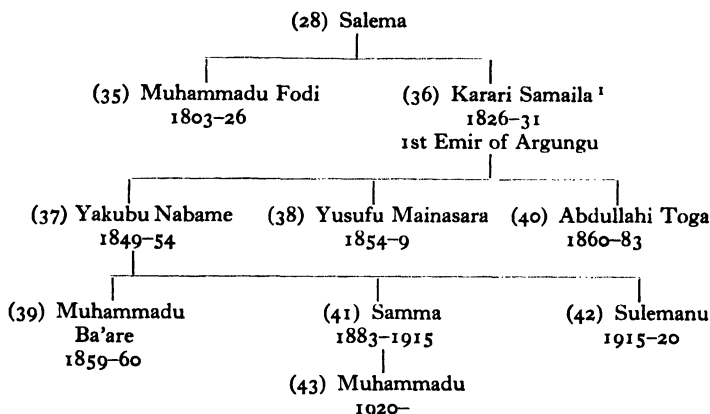
'Lafiyar Toga', a treaty of peace with the Sarkin Musulmi Ahmadu Rufa'i, was concluded. In this treaty it was agreed that Argungu should be independent of Gwandu, that all towns captured by Argungu should remain under Argungu, and that all slaves caught in war should remain with the captor.

*The
'Lafiyar
Toga'*

The peace only lasted eight years, after which, until the British Occupation, there were incessant hostilities between the Kebbawa and Fulani. In 1883 Toga was succeeded by Samma, who reigned for thirty-two years until his death in 1915. Three times the Sarkin Musulmi Abdurrahman attacked Argungu, calling in allies from Katsina and Kano, but each time the invaders were routed.

*Samma
(1883-
1915)*

THE LATER KINGS OF KEBBI



The present Sarkin Kebbi (the 43rd) is directly descended from Kanta, the 6th Sarkin Kebbi.

When the British arrived in 1900 they were welcomed by Samma, and his attitude from the first was friendly in the extreme. For this reason alone it is most unfortunate that the boundary commission saw fit to cede much of his territory to the French. In this way he lost all his Zaberma and many of his Ariwa towns, which had always been particularly

¹ On the death in action of Karari there was an interregnum of eighteen years, during which the Kebbawa were submissive to the Fulani, until in 1849 Yakubu proclaimed himself Sarkin Kebbi.

stout-hearted and loyal to Kebbi in the long struggle with the Fulani.

It is remarkable to observe how vigorous the Kebbawa have always remained since the olden days of Kanta. Although they have suffered reverses they have never been actually conquered, and it is more than possible that but for the arrival of the British they would have dominated their Fulani neighbours, who were at that time in a degenerate state.

Sulemanu (1915-20) Samma was succeeded by Sulemanu in 1915 and, on his death

Muhammadu (1920) in 1920, the present Emir Muhammadu came to the throne.

2. *Gobir and Zamfara*

Gobir Gobir was the most northerly of the Hausa Bakwai and her function, according to the legend, was to guard the remainder from the wild tribes of the Sahara. Certain it is that the Gobirawa were always a warlike race.

Early Legends According to a manuscript belonging to Alkalin Sabon Birni, the Gobirawa claim to have their origin in Gobir, 'a town of Yemen north-east of Mecca'. Muhammad the Prophet called on Bana Turumi, king of Gobir, to support him against his enemy Haibura. Bana Turumi, doubtful of the issue, determined to be on the winning side. He sent half of his retainers to assist Muhammad, half to help Haibura. Haibura was defeated and slain at Badar, and after the battle Muhammad saw a party of Gobirawa in flight. They were captured and brought before him. The Prophet asked them why they fled, for the victory was theirs. They explained that they had been fighting for Haibura, and disclosed the duplicity of Bana Turumi. Muhammad thereupon declared that to the end of time the Gobirawa would suffer from divided counsel and internal dissension.

After the battle of Badar, Bana Turumi left Gobir with his people and, travelling westward, died at the salt wells of Bilma.

In the reign of Bala, son of Bachiri, the twenty-ninth king, the Gobirawa went northward to the land of Asben. Here they found a tribe called Idirfunawa, or Hausas of the Adar (rocky country), with whom the Gobirawa made common cause against the Tuaregs.

It may here be mentioned that the ruling classes of Gobir are entirely distinct from the ordinary people. The latter are of

common origin with the rest of the Hausas, Daurawa, Katsinawa, and so on; but the chiefs of Gobir are some kind of Kiptawa, for they have under one eye the same mark which is found under the eye of the Pharaohs on the monuments, called in Hausa 'takin kaza' (the fowl's footprint).

The history of the Absen or Asben oasis is briefly:

*The As-
ben Oasis*

(a) It was at one time occupied by Habash, whence its name Ah-bash-an (Absen).

(b) These Habash (Hausa) were conquered by Beri-Beri such as Zamfarawa and Zabarmawa.

(c) At a subsequent period a tribe with Egyptian affinities (the aristocracy of Gobir) came along and became masters of Asben. These are the 'Abana Turumi' who died at Bilma.

(d) Subsequently the Gobirawa were driven south to Birnin Lalle, not far from where Madawa now stands, by the Tuareg.

The contrast between the Zamfarawa and Gobirawa is that the former are in origin regarded as belonging to the Beri-Beri races which include the Yorubas, Jukuns, Fulani, and Yaurawa, while the Gobirawa are Hausas (Hau-sha, i.e. Habash).

The period of Gobir rule in Asben and their migration probably occurred between 1150 and 1350.

According to Barth, when the Gobirawa were dispossessed by the Tuaregs they made terms with their conquerors that they should not be exterminated and that the Tuareg king should always marry a black woman.

During the eighteenth century the Gobirawa, under pressure from the north, began to cast covetous eyes on the more fertile lands of Zamfara to the south. At the height of its power the kingdom of Zamfara is said to have extended from Sabon Birni in the north to Kwiambana in the south; from the rocks of Muniya, Rubu, and Duru and the stream Babban Baki in the east to the River Gindi in the west.

Zamfara

Their ancient capital was Dutsi, in Zurmi district, where twenty-three kings lie buried.

By the middle of the eighteenth century the capital had been transferred to Birnin Zamfara, a large town of which the ruins can still be seen close to Isa town. The circumference of the walls must have been quite eleven miles.

Babari, Sarkin Gobir at this time, gave his sister Fara in

marriage to Mairoki, Sarkin Zamfara, and obtained permission from him to settle on the official estates of Alkalin Zamfara, which were situated near Sabon Birni. This was the origin of the new Gobir capital of Alkalawa. The advent of these immigrants was at first welcomed by the Zamfarawa, who found them useful warriors. In course of time, however, they grew strong enough to assert their strength, and in 1764, despite their pledge of friendship, they captured Birnin Zamfara, under the leadership of Babari.

*Gobir
attacks
Zamfara*

Tradition has it that Mairoki was intent on a game of draughts in his house. So vast was the town that for three days he was unaware that the Gobirawa had forced an entry. In spite of his preoccupation Mairoki made good his escape and sought refuge with his vassal Tsaidau, Chief of Kiawa, a town inhabited by Katsinawa.

*Siege of
Kiawa*

Here for fifteen years, or so it is said, Mairoki and his deliverer defied the Gobirawa. With the help of Gozo, Sarkin Katsina, they defeated the Gobirawa at Dutsin Wake, close to Kiawa. Sarkin Gobir Bawa Jan Gwarzo refused to retreat in spite of the remonstrances of his followers: *A mazeya a kai iri gida*, they besought him ('let us retire for the sake of our posterity'). These words have never been forgotten and to this day will rouse a Bagobiri to frenzy.

Mairoki found a safe asylum in Kiawa. He retired to Banga and there, stricken with remorse for the loss of his kingdom, committed suicide.

*The
Zam-
farawa
migrate
to Anka*

It was not until after the jihad that his grandson Abarshi led a company of Zamfarawa southwards and established a new colony at Anka, where a list of the ancient kings of Zamfara is preserved.¹

At the time of Usuman's jihad the Gobirawa occupied all northern Zamfara, and the Zamfarawa had been forced down into the valley of the Gulbin Zamfara. There were constant hostilities between the two states; but in the later conflicts it was not always Gobir that prevailed. Up to this date the Gobirawa had established a reputation for fighting. They had warred with Zaberma and Gurma, with Kebbi, with Kano and Katsina, and now with Zamfara; but although they had rarely suffered defeat,

¹ I found this list there in 1924.—S. J. H.

a trivial affair with a Fulani preacher was to bring about their downfall. Alkalawa was sacked by the Fulani in 1808, and the whole garrison butchered, including Sarkin Gobir Yunfa and all his chiefs.

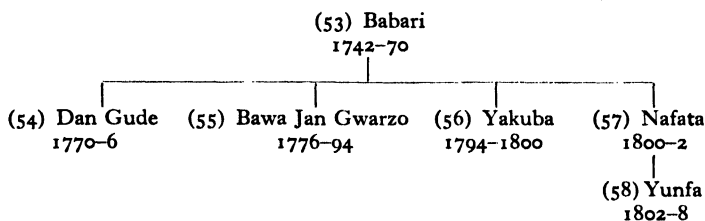
Sack of Alkalawa (1808)

From this disaster Gobir never recovered. During the ensuing century she more than once allied herself with the Katsinawa Habe of Maradi, who had been driven out of Katsina.

Decline of Gobir

A series of attempts at revenge on her Fulani conquerors resolved themselves into mere harassing raids and pillage of the country-side, and achieved no more than to bring misery on a number of innocent peasants.

THE LATER KINGS OF GOBIR UP TO THE JIHAD



3. Sokoto

Ten years before the capture of Birnin Zamfara by Babari there was born at Marata in Gobir a boy called Usuman, afterwards to become the famous Shehu. Many generations ago a Fulani tribe called Toronkawa had migrated from somewhere in Malle and come to settle in Gobir. Their leader was called Jakolo and Usuman's father, Fodio, was his thirteenth descendant.

Origin of the Toronkawa

Usuman and his younger brother Abdullahi, who was not born till 1766, were brought up as strict Muslims and instructed in the doctrines of the Maliki School. Usuman soon showed great promise and went to Agades to study. On his return he adopted preaching as a profession and helped his former tutor Jibrilla to spread the faith in Gobir.

Usuman and Abdullahi

At his house in Degel near Godobawa, after returning from a preaching tour in Kebbi, he was visited by Sarkin Gobir Bawa Jan Gwarzo and induced to come to the Gobir court at Alkalawa to act as tutor to the royal princes. Here he gained considerable influence owing to his devoutness and magnetic personality.

Usuman Tutor to the King of Gobir

*Their
Gradual
Estrangement*

But as time went on, and in his turn Yunfa grew up and became Sarkin Gobir, the relations between the Court and his eminent tutor became strained. On the one hand, the young king still hankered after the old pagan rites and loose living of his ancestors; on the other hand, he found the disapproval of his austere tutor an irritating reminder of the growing breach between them. Moreover, Usuman's power and influence were daily becoming more noticeable among the nobility.

The estrangement became obvious when Usuman withdrew to his village of Degel.¹ He devoted himself to preaching the faith up and down the country with such success that his following soon became considerable. Yunfa now began to suspect him of intriguing against his rule. Seeing that the number of Usuman's followers increased daily, he came to the conclusion that nothing but the death of the dangerous preacher could assure his own safety.

A story is told of how Yunfa summoned Usuman to Alkalawa to have him murdered, but that the hand of God miraculously saved him. First he ignored the proffered seat which cunningly concealed the mouth of a well, and then, when Yunfa fired a gun at his chest, the charge blew backwards.

*The
Gimbana
Incident*

The story serves to show that Sarkin Gobir Yunfa was now a dangerous enemy. The immediate occasion for the outbreak of hostilities was furnished by a trivial incident. One of Usuman's disciples named Abdussalame had for some reason refused to come out of Gimbana, where he was living, to bless a passing troop of Gobirawa. Yunfa was naturally incensed when he heard the news, and he sent in haste to have an example made of the town and Abdussalame brought to Alkalawa. The captives had to pass close to Degel, and when Usuman heard the news he came out and caused all the Muslims among them to be released. This act so infuriated Yunfa that he threatened to destroy Degel, the stronghold of the Fulani, and proceeded to collect an army. Usuman immediately thought it prudent to withdraw westwards to Gudu. This Hijra, as it is sometimes called, took place in February 1804.

*The
'Hijra'
(1804)*

The Fulani saw in this behaviour of Yunfa a sign of hostility against their race. Not only those who were Muslims but also

¹ Degel was near Sokwoi.

the hardy pagan herdsmen hurried to join Usuman's forces for their common defence. As the leaders, however, were mallams of the Shehu's school, this insurrection of partly pagan forces against Sarkin Gobir, Muslim though he was, was styled a holy war and Usuman was proclaimed Amiru'l Muminina. It was specially due to the fighting abilities of the herdsmen, brought up from early childhood to the use of the bow and hardened by their nomad life, that the Gobir cavalry sent out to suppress the rising was severely defeated at Lake Kwato.

This initial success had a wonderful effect on the Shehu's fortunes. The Zamfarawa hastened to ally themselves with him and lukewarm followers became fervent disciples.

The Shehu offered terms to Sarkin Gobir provided that he came in person to sue for peace, but Yunfa refused. In November the Shehu made his first attempt against Alkalawa, but the assault failed, and later the Fulani suffered a severe reverse at Tsuntsuwa. After further skirmishing round Alkalawa in February 1805, the Shehu retired southwards into the friendly country of Zamfara, as his supplies were running short. A permanent camp was built at Sabongari, twenty miles north of Anka.

Meanwhile, as news of the rising power spread throughout the country, representatives of the movement came from other states to salute the Shehu and receive his blessing. In each case the Shehu selected a leader and entrusted him with a flag as a symbol of authority, telling him to raise the countryside and establish the true faith.

There can be little doubt that the Shehu was himself a very religious man, and that he took his recommendations seriously. Many of his adherents, however, were unfortunately mere adventurers, and religion served them simply as a cloak for their lust for power. When it came to looting they would despoil Muslim and pagan with impartiality. Thus when in April 1805 Abdullahi and Aliu Jedo made an expedition into Kebbi, and also when Bello invaded northern Zamfara (the country of those Zamfarawa who had been the first to give their support to the Shehu and who had sheltered him after his repulse at Tsuntsuwa), towns were sacked without the slightest reference to their religious leanings and without distinction between friend and

*The
Battle
of Lake
Kwato
(1804)*

*First
Assault
on Alka-
lawu un-
successful
(Nov.
1804)*

foe. It is not to be wondered at that the Zamfarawa forsook a leader whose followers had shown such mean ingratitude, and allied themselves with the Gobirawa against him.

Attack on Gwandu Those who had had opportunity of judging the real character of the jihad—Gobirawa, Kebbawa, and Tuaregs—united with the Zamfarawa, and decided to make a common attack on the Shehu at Gwandu. Under the leadership of Aliu Jedo, the Shehu's forces sallied forth and sacked the friendly town of Kwolda. When, however, they met the confederate army they were severely defeated at Alwassa, and Gwandu all but fell. It survived, however, and with the final driving off of the allies the Shehu's cause was never again to be seriously threatened.

Battle of Alwassa (1805) Meanwhile, in Kano, Katsina, and Daura, the Fulani had been successful in driving out the old Habe dynasties, and the movement was fast spreading through the country.

Second Expedition against Alkalawa (1806) During the early part of the next year (1806) the records speak chiefly of unsuccessful ventures, but Yandoto (near Chafe in Katsina Laka) was captured by Bello. In the autumn a successful expedition was sent north to Alkalawa under Aliu Jedo, which, although it did not capture the town, laid waste the surrounding crops. Bello meanwhile was victorious in Zamfara and an expedition to Dandi captured many towns. In the following spring Namoda defeated and killed ten of the principal chiefs of Alkalawa at Wanni, east of Alkalawa, and, assisted by Umaru Dallaji, the Katsina flag-bearer, reduced the surrounding country. But it was not until the autumn of the following year (1808) that Alkalawa itself was captured. The town was attacked on three sides by the combined forces of Bello, Aliu Jedo, Namoda, and Umaru Dallaji, with the result that Sarkin Gobir Yunfa and all his men were put to the sword. The power of Gobir was broken. This important event, though barbarous to modern eyes, established the success of the Shehu's cause and decided the minds of doubters, who had been hesitating to declare themselves.

Sokoto built (1809) The walls of Sokoto were built the next year (1809) by Bello, who had three years before built the walls of Gwandu. Sokoto had previously been but a tiny hamlet, but Bello was alive to the strong natural advantages of the place. When Sokoto was built, the Shehu came to reside there from Sifawa. There is

some controversy as to the duration of his residence in Sifawa. He probably lived in Gwandu about two years and in Sifawa about the same time, but his exact movements are not known. Abdullahi built the town of Bodinga close to Sifawa as his own head-quarters.

In 1810 the jihad was almost complete. All the Hausa States, Nupe, Adamawa, and some parts of Bornu were under Fulani Emirs owing allegiance to the Shehu.¹

The Sarkin Ahir of Adar was a close ally. In Bornu the Sultan had attempted to support the Habe cause, but in 1808 had been driven out of his capital. Buba Yero, who founded the town and Emirate of Gombe, and Mallam Zaki, who did the same at Katagum with the title of Sarkin Bornu, were conspicuous Fulani leaders in this war with Bornu. It was Gwani Muhtar, successor to Mallam Buhari, however, who drove the King of Bornu out of his country and established himself in N'gazrgamu as Emir of Bornu. But the great Al Kanemi, the first Shehu of Bornu, soon came and drove him out again. In a correspondence with the Sarkin Musulmi, Al Kanemi made some very pertinent remarks with regard to the rights and wrongs of the Fulani jihad. He especially accused the Fulani of hiding political reasons under a cloak of religion, which naturally upset the conscience of the Shehu and his counsellors, as the thrust had penetrated uncomfortably near the mark.

After the fall of Alkalawa in 1808 the Shehu divided the administration between his son Bello and his brother Abdullahi. The Shehu himself had done very little fighting; he preferred to confine himself to things spiritual, and leave the temporal matters to younger men. To Bello he gave the east; to Abdullahi he gave the west. Bello made Sokoto his head-quarters, and here the Shehu spent the last years of his life. Gwandu was the capital of the western kingdom, but Abdullahi spent much of his time at Bodinga near the Shehu. It must be remembered that it was generally the custom for chiefs to reside in the capital and to run their districts by proxy, merely visiting them from time to time. The natural result of this system was that

Acrimonious Correspondence between the Shehu and Al Kanemi Partition of Sokoto Empire between Bello and Abdullahi

¹ But this replacement of hereditary kings by Fulani usurpers did wholesale damage to the country. Books, records, towns, houses, institutions, and ancient customs were alike wantonly destroyed.

the people were ruthlessly exploited; and this got worse and worse as time went on. The Shehu died in Sokoto after a year's illness in 1817, aged seventy-three.¹

*Death of
the
Shehu
(1817)*

Abdullahi, who some say was at Gwandu but was more probably at Bodinga, immediately rode to Sokoto, but found the gates shut against him and Bello installed as Sarkin Musulmi. This was in obedience to the Shehu's dying wish, but Abdullahi felt that he had been wronged and nursed a grievance. However, the affair was fortunately settled before relations had become too strained. On his return to Gwandu Abdullahi found that the town of Kalambena, in which there were many followers of Abdussalame, had revolted. He will be remembered as having been the actual occasion of the jihad. Abdullahi's position at first looked none too hopeful, but Bello, when he heard the news, immediately came to his uncle's assistance and crushed the revolt. 'The two met outside the walls of Kalembera, Bello on his war-horse, Abdullahi on the mare which he always rode as befitting a mallam. Bello as the younger man prepared to dismount, as native etiquette demanded, but Abdullahi motioned to him to remain in the saddle, and himself bent forward and saluted his nephew as Commander of the Faithful.'² This pretty incident sealed a close friendship between the two courts, which has never since been broken. The dual empire was destined to last unaided until the British Occupation, and still remains. The eastern Emirates paid tribute to Sokoto and the western Emirates to Gwandu, but the Sarkin Musulmi in Sokoto has always been accepted as supreme.

*The dual
Empire*

*Mam-
man
Bello
(1817-
37)*

The early years of Bello's reign were spent in desperate fighting. Almost all the provinces of the Empire rose in their turn. Bello again sacked Alkalawa and finally destroyed it. For all his constant fighting Bello was a prolific writer and left behind many books. Twenty miles north of Sokoto he built the town of Wuruno, on the Gulbin Rima, and spent much of his life there. It became a second capital.

Towards the end of his reign (1835) there was a serious attempt on the part of the Maradawa to break the Fulani power by invad-

¹ The Shehu's tomb in Sokoto is still a place of pilgrimage, especially for those about to go to Mecca.

² Mr. F. Daniel in the *Journal of the African Society*.

ing Sokoto. The Habe were led by Raud, the predecessor of the famous Dan Mari, and the expedition included numerous allies from the north. There is a legend that before the battle the Fulani forces had camped in a place where there was no water¹ (the place differs in various accounts), but a celebrated Sheikh Omar called upon the men to stick their spears in the ground, whereupon water gushed out abundantly. A tremendous battle was fought at Gawakuke (or Wakukye) near Raba, which resulted in a complete victory for Bello. Raud was killed, Ali Sarkin Gobir was captured, and the remnants of the army, except, as usual, those who could recite the *Fataha*, were made into slaves.

On Bello's death, therefore, in 1837 he left the Sokoto Empire in a strong position. His reign had been one long succession of wars, culminating in the victory of Gawakuke, which left Sokoto triumphant.

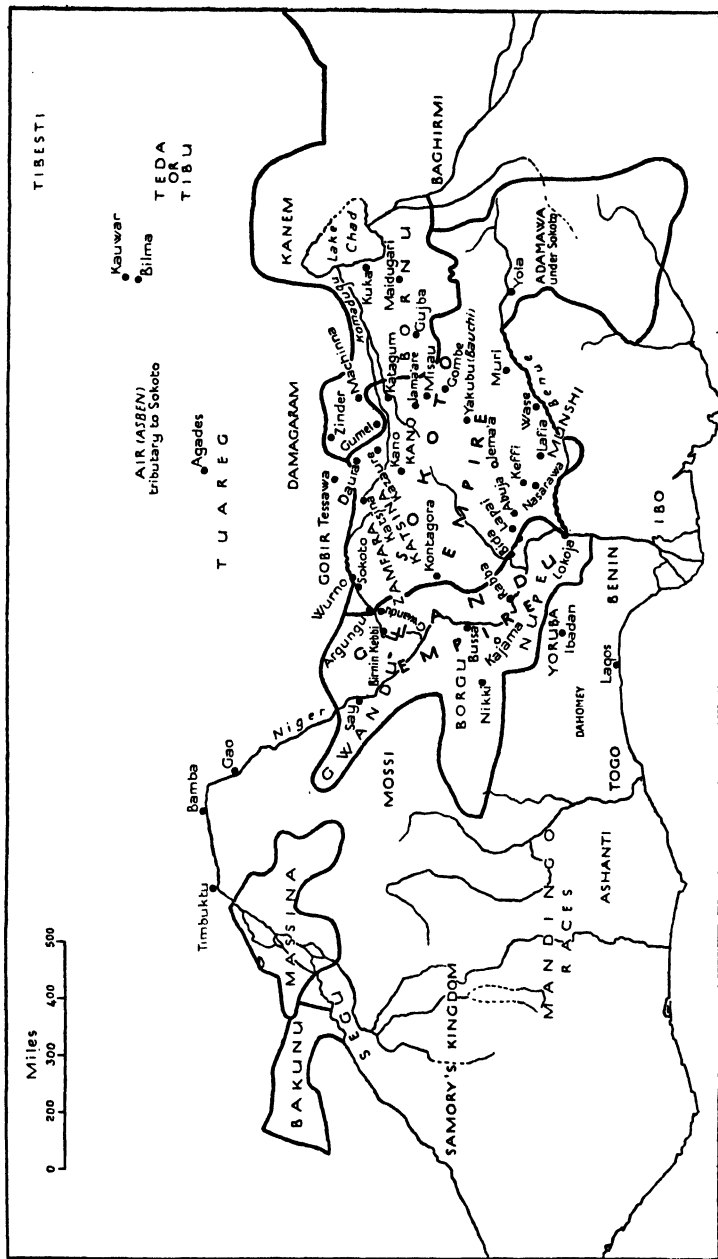
Clapperton, who visited Sokoto in Bello's reign and lies buried near there, describes the country as being very prosperous. Trade, however, was handicapped by heavy duties. In appearance Bello was 'red, tall, and bald, with a tufted beard'. He was described as being patient, just, honest, and sympathetic, and supported himself without access to the public funds. He was fond of study and encouraged learning, insisting that his sons did not inherit wisdom, as popularly thought, but must acquire it by diligent endeavour. It is a lasting pity, and will always be a blot on his good name, that he allowed all the old Hausa manuscripts to be destroyed.

Bello and Al Kanemi died within two years of each other. There followed disruption and petty wars. From this time both Sokoto and Bornu declined, but for different reasons. In the Sokoto Empire the power was foreign imposed on established rulers, while in Bornu the power was native, warring against foreign invaders. In both cases slave-raiding was a tremendous factor in desolating the country and in ruining trade.

The history of Sokoto now resolved itself into convulsive efforts on the part of the Maradawa to overthrow the Fulani, and continual troubles of every kind. As years went by the

Corruption and Extortion

¹ The place is pointed out by the Sarkin Baura as being near Dange, but if such an incident occurred there it must have been in some other campaign.



The Sokoto-Gwandu Empire and neighbouring states during the nineteenth century

Fulani rule became a tyranny. Justice was corrupt and abused; nothing could be effected without bribes; nepotism and favouritism were rife; taxes became more and more extortionate until the peasantry were barely able to exist. Naturally there were always exceptions and one Emirate would be worse than another; but this was the general trend of affairs in the Sokoto Empire under Fulani rule up to the time of the British Occupation. It had a parallel in the state of the peasantry in Central Europe during the eighteenth century before the revolutionary period. The Fulani of Sokoto up to the time of the British Occupation paid no tax whatsoever—except *zakka* which was devoted to religion—but lived on the *gaisuwa* received from their vassal states.

Bello was succeeded by Abubakr Atiku, a very devout man, and he on his death five years later was succeeded by Aliu Babba, son of Bello (1842–59). Aliu was very active in the field and gained a great reputation. In his seventeen years' reign he appointed no fewer than sixteen Emirs to the various Hausa Emirates. On his death at Wurno in 1859 he was succeeded by Ahmadu (or Zaruku). He subjugated the Sulibawa round Wamako and Shuni, who had been troublesome; but otherwise his reign was chiefly notable for its comparative peace. The reigns of the succeeding Emirs merely provide records of slave-raiding exploits and desultory fighting in various quarters. Abdurrahman, grandson of the Shehu, was Sarkin Musulmi from 1891 to 1902, and had a most disastrous reign. He was known as *Dainyen Kasko*, 'the unbaked pot', or, as we might say, 'the half-baked'. He it was who made the unfortunate mistake of appointing Tukur to be Emir of Kano in spite of the advice of his Waziri and the wishes of the Kano people, a mistake which plunged the country into civil war.¹

He had obstinately refused to have any dealings whatsoever with the British, and declared that there could be nothing but war between the Muslim and the unbeliever. Before the British Expeditionary Force arrived he died, but his successor, Muhammadu Attahiru I, maintained the same attitude. No one, however, except a few fanatics, made any resistance when General Kemball and Colonel Morland arrived on the Sokoto Common

Abubakr

Atiku

(1837–

42)

Aliu

Babba

(1842–

59)

Ahmadu

(1859–

66)

'Dainyen

Kasko'

(1891–

1902)

British

Occupation

tion

(1903)

¹ See Kano section.

Muham- on 15 March 1903. Attahiru fled, to be killed at Burmi in July.¹
madu At- Four days later Sir Frederick Lugard arrived in person and in-
tahiru I stalled Muhammadu Attahiru II, son of Aliu Babba, as Sultan.
(1902-3) He reigned for twelve years with the utmost loyalty, proving his
Muham- sincerity at the time of the Satiru rebellion in 1906, after which
madu At- he was made an Honorary C.M.G.² In 1915 he was succeeded
tahiru II by Maiturare, the Marafa of Godobawa, a very efficient ruler,
(1903- who died in 1924. The present Emir Muhammadu is his son.
15)

4. Gwandu

Bello and After the death of the Shehu, as recounted previously, rela-
Abdul- tions were rather strained between Bello and Abdullahi, because
lahi the latter felt that he had a stronger claim to Sokoto. But this
divide animosity, if it deserves the name, was very short lived. Since
the the fall of Alkalawa in 1808 the administration of the Sokoto
Sokoto Empire had been divided between Bello and Abdullahi by the
Empire Shehu, and Abdullahi had from the first ruled the western
 Emirates, while Bello had ruled the eastern ones. Therefore it
 was an obvious move to leave Bello in Sokoto and Abdullahi
 in Gwandu.³

For two years after the Shehu's death a revolt in Kalembe-
 na kept Abdullahi fully occupied, until, as we have seen, with
 Bello's assistance, the rebel town was captured and broken.

¹ Muhammadu Bello, son of Attahiru I, fled eastward and established him-
 self at Shehu Talha near Senaar. He has there collected a following of
 Hausawa and Fulani and is a recognized chief under the Sudan Government.

² The *Sokoto Gazetteer* gives the following account: 'On February 13th,
 Mallam Isa, headman of Satiru, proclaimed himself Madhi. The Acting
 Resident, Mr. Hillary, went out to arrest him with the Sokoto garrison. The
 force was attacked at a disadvantage and broken. Lieut. Blackwood, Mr.
 Hillary, Mr. Scott and twenty-seven native soldiers were killed, Dr. Ellis and
 three natives wounded. The Resident, Major Burdon, who was proceeding on
 leave, returned to Sokoto on February 15th and organized the defence of
 the Fort with the aid of the Sarkin Musulmi and loyal chiefs. The Marafa
 of Godabawa (Maiturare) attacked Satiru, but was repulsed. The rebel
 leader Mallam Isa died of wounds on February 17th. Mallam Dan Makafo
 took his place and led the rebels to attack and burn neighbouring villages
 and towns such as Dange and Danchadi.

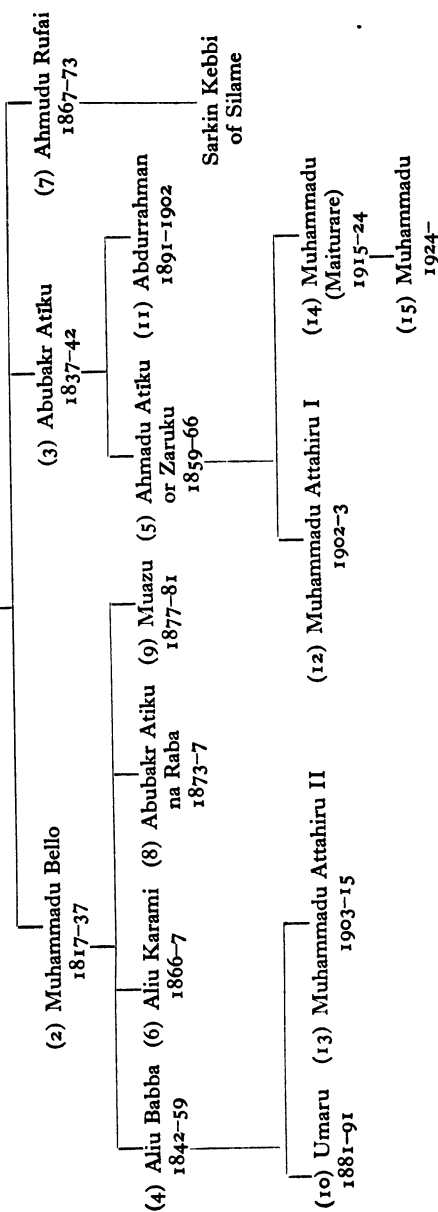
'The relief columns reached Sokoto early in March. On the 10th, Satiru
 was attacked and destroyed, and the rebels practically exterminated. Dan
 Makafo and five of the ringleaders were captured. They were executed after
 trial by the Sokoto Native Court.'

³ See Sokoto section. Abdullahi lived a great deal in Bodinga.

EMIRS OF SOKOTO

(1) Shehu Usman dan Fodio

1804-17



Abdullahi's Campaigns In the Shehu's lifetime Abdullahi had conducted many campaigns. He had installed a Sarkin Zaberma in Dosso, subjugated Illo, and dispatched Mallam Dendo to Nupe.

Abdullahi in later years left the conduct of affairs mainly in the hands of his son Muhamman and his nephew Buhari, and devoted himself to books and writing. He died in 1828 at the age of seventy-eight.

Muhamman (1828-33) He was succeeded by his son Muhamman, and Bello came from Sokoto and confirmed the appointment. His reign was distinguished by hard fighting against Karari, Sarkin Kebbi of Argungu.¹ After driving Karari out of Argungu with the help of Bello, he pursued and killed him at Galewa, but this did not entail the subjugation of the Zabermawa and Ariwawa, who continued in a state of revolt.

Bello brought his forces again to assist Muhamman, and captured the Ariwa towns of Beibei, Damana, and Birnin Debi. To prevent further trouble in the future he forbade them to have walls.

Halilu (1833-58) In 1833 Muhamman was succeeded by his brother Halilu, who reigned for twenty-five years. Bello came from Sokoto, saluted him and confirmed the appointment.

The whole of Halilu's reign resolves itself into a long series of expeditions. He first had difficulty with the Borgawa at Kaoje, and later, with the help of the Wamako Sulibawa sent by Bello to assist him, he succeeded in penetrating into Gurma, beyond Say, and capturing Botu with many slaves.

In 1837 a combined Sokoto and Gwandu force under Buhari dan Shehu and Muhamman Sambo went to relieve Abdus-salame, Emir of Ilorin, who was close pressed in Ilorin by the Borgawa. The Borgawa were driven off and a Gwandu force remained to protect the Ilorins.

Next year Halilu summoned assistance from Nupe and Ilorin to deal with revolts near home. In 1840 he had much trouble with the Nufawa, who refused to submit to the Sarkin Nupe Usuman Zaki and besieged him in Raba. Halilu accordingly removed him to Birnin Kebbi and made his brother Masaba Emir.²

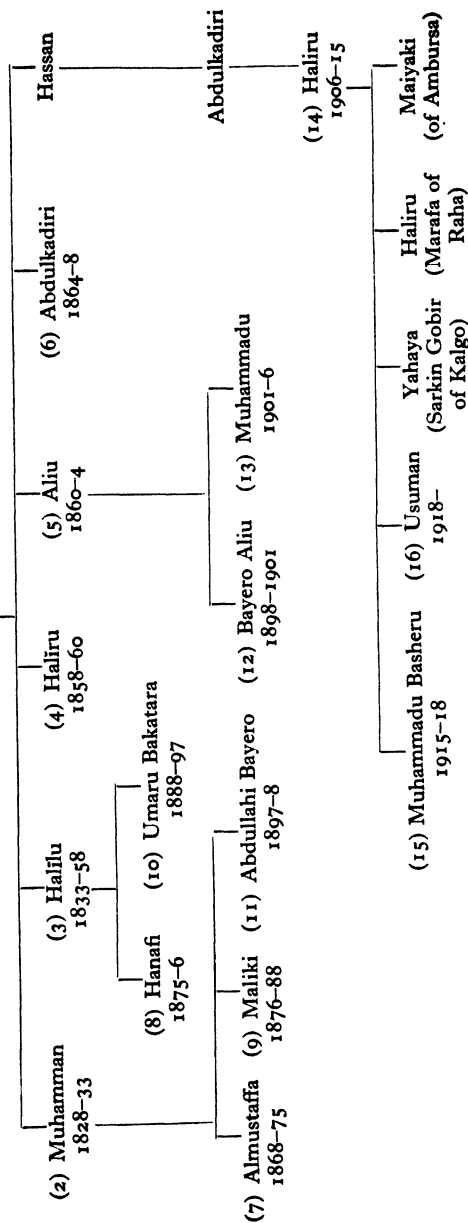
¹ See Kebbi section.

² Usuman Zaki and Masaba were both sons of Mallam Dendo, a Fulani from

EMIRS OF GWANDU

(1) Abdullahi dan Fodio

1817-28



The last years of Halilu's reign were occupied with spasmodic revolts in Zaberma, Ariwa, and Kebbi. The Gwandu forces on the whole met with little real success, the rebels being too strong and numerous.

Haliru Halilu was succeeded in 1858 by his brother Haliru, who, (1858-60) after one very successful battle with the Kebbawa, was himself defeated and killed by them at Tilli (1860).

Aliu The succeeding king, Aliu (1860-4), moved his head-quarters (1860-4) to Ambursa to protect the towns along the south bank of the river, which were continually threatened by the Kebbawa.

Abdulkadiri In the reign of Abdulkadiri (1864-8) came the celebrated (1864-8) peace of Toga, which admitted the independence of Argungu. After eight years the peace was broken by Fanna, a Kebbi town, which asked the Sarkin Gwandu Almustaffa if it might follow him instead of Toga, an action which naturally precipitated hostilities once more.

British occupy Illo War continued against the Kebbawa with intervals until the (1900) British Occupation. In June 1900 British troops occupied Illo, and exactly two years later the troops passed through Birnin Kebbi to Argungu. Gwandu offered no resistance.

Muhammadu In 1906 Muhammadu, Sarkin Gwandu, was deposed in favour (1901-6) of Haliru, and the head-quarters of Gwandu Emirate were moved from Ambursa to Birnin Kebbi, where they have since remained.

Haliru Basheru succeeded Haliru in 1915, and on his death in 1918 (1906-15) Usuman his brother became Emir.

Basheru
(1915-18)

5. *Dabai*

The earliest settlement was founded on the site where the town of Karissen now stands, the present chief being a direct descendant of the founder.¹

Earliest Settlement Many centuries later Katsinawa are said to have come and (The Katsinawa) settled among the Atsifawa in the surrounding hills. They inter-married with the Kamberris and Dakkakerris, but it is noteworthy that the headmen were chosen from the Katsinawa, who were probably more civilized. Tsofon Birni eventually became

Banganna near Birnin Kebbi, who played a big part in Nupe history after the jihad and from whom all the Emirs of Bida have descended. See Nupe chapter.

¹ See Bussa section.

a large district (Sakaba), but it was broken up by the Fulani of Rijau shortly after the founding of Kontagora.

In the north the most important and oldest district was that of Dabai, inhabited by Dakkakerris, who are descended from the Atsifawa. One of their former chiefs migrated with a few of his tribe across the river Ka and founded Zugu. Years later the chief then ruling returned to Dabai, where he died, and his successors continued to follow Sarkin Zugu until about 1901. Several minor groups, though recognizing Sarkin Dabai as the head of the Dakkakerris, owed him no allegiance, but followed Zugu direct. *Dabai*

The next tribe to arrive were the Bangawa, who had originally migrated from Katsina to Zamfara, where their chief had died. They crossed the River Ka and settled at Donko.¹ Wasagu and Bena are also inhabited by Katsinawa, who apparently settled there at about the beginning of the last century. *The Bangawa*

The country seems to have been comparatively prosperous and well populated until the coming of Nagwamatse, after which it rapidly became a collection of ruins owing to his continual slave-raiding. *Nagwamatse desolates the country*

Dabai itself was sacked once by Ibrahim, Sarkin Sudan, but on another occasion, when attacking Penin Amana, he and his army were completely routed by the Dakkakerris, and he barely escaped with his life.

About April 1903, during a period of unrest, when the power of the chiefs had been somewhat shaken, an artificial emirate of Sakaba was created, and the present town of Sakaba was then built. A certain Ba-Nupe of humble birth, named Ibrahim, was made the first Sarkin Sakaba. He had been a favourite of the Sarkin Yawuri and been made Maiyaki. He had accompanied the British forces which captured Kontagora in 1901, and after the Sarkin Yawuri had proved a disappointment had temporarily occupied the throne of Kontagora, until Ibrahim, Sarkin Sudan, was reinstated. *Sakaba Emirate created*

The experimental emirate of Sakaba, which originally extended from the River Ka in the north to the Malendo in the south, was a failure from the start. Sarkin Sakaba's administration was characterized by continuous extortion and oppression. *A failure*

¹ The chief of Bukwium holds the title of Sarkin Donko.

His own chiefs were a mixed collection of aliens—Nufawa, Yorubawa, &c.—who lacked all idea of administration and were employed merely as tax-gatherers. Their one object was to enrich themselves, and, flagrantly encouraged by the Emir himself, they resorted to every kind of malpractice, until finally in 1913 the rottenness of the Sakaba régime was exposed. The Waziri, who had gained complete charge of the Emirate, was found to have been implicated with a gang of highway robbers, and the Emir was forced to resign. Since then the Division has been reorganized.

6. *Yawuri*¹

Evidence of former greatness Birnin Yawuri ceased to be the residence of the Emirs of Yawuri in the middle of the last century owing to internal dissensions and fear of Kontagora, but the walls, which to this day are well preserved, give evidence of its former size and strength, and are said to be centuries old. There is a record of twenty-nine chiefs before the jihad.

In years gone by Yawuri was quite an important Hausa State, being one of the Banza Bakwai of the legend. Mungo Park, too, says that Yawuri was in 1804 a prosperous Emirate.

Follows Gwandu After the jihad Yawuri became a vassal of Gwandu, paying a small tribute annually and receiving the promise of protection in return.

Gajere In 1844 Gajere, Sarkin Yawuri, was expelled by his people for oppression; he returned later with reinforcements from Rijau, and the Yawurawa fled from Birnin Yawuri to the islands of the Niger near Yelwa. On his death his son Dan Gajere settled at Masambu near Kontagora, and made himself head of the Kamberawa, but the Yawurawa refused to recognize him and set up Sulimanu as their chief, on the island of Ikum.

Dan Gajere and Sulimanu

With the assistance of Nagwamatse, Emir of Kontagora, Dan Gajere made frequent attacks on the Yawurawa, who used to leave their farms on the mainland and seek refuge among the islands.

Abdu Gallo Sulimanu died at Ikum in 1871, and Almstaffa, Emir of Gwandu, installed Abdu Gallo, the son of Dan Gajere, who meanwhile had also died, in his place.

At this time the Sarkin Gwandu had to warn Nagwamatse

¹ Or Yauri.

from interfering with Yawuri, which was tributary to Gwandu. In 1888 Abdu Gallo died and was succeeded by Abarshi. Hitherto the Yawurawa had not dared to leave their islands owing to the fear of Kontagora, but Abarshi extracted a promise from Ibrahim, Sarkin Kontagora, to the effect that he would not molest the Yawurawa if they returned to the mainland. Abarshi moved from Ikum to a new site on the banks of the Niger, which he named Yelwa.¹ He was afraid of returning to Yawuri as he was not sure whether Ibrahim would keep his promise.

Abarshi
(1888-
1904)

In 1896 came the first sign of the British Occupation. In 1902 Ibrahim was driven out of Kontagora and immediately the people began to return to their old villages. Abarshi, and later his son, Ganni, were in turn called in to fill the vacant post of Sarkin Kontagora. Ibrahim, the ex-Emir, was eventually recalled and reinstated in his old position.

On Abarshi's death in 1904, owing to an agreement made with the British on their first arrival, at least ten younger brothers were passed over for the succession, and his eldest surviving son Jibrilu (Ganni had just died) was appointed. This led to much discontent and intrigue.

Jibrilu
(1904-

In 1915 Jibrilu was deposed for mental incapacity, and was succeeded by a commoner named Aliu, a most unpopular appointment.

15)
Aliu
(1915-
23)

Aliu was deposed in March 1923, and Abdullahi, eldest son of Jibrilu, thirty-sixth Emir of Yawuri, was appointed, thus restoring the ancient Yawuri line. Abdullahi was born in 1901 and was educated at both the Kano and Birnin Kebbi Provincial Schools, and it may be said that under his intelligent guidance the Emirate of Yawuri has made considerable progress.

¹ 'Abundance.'

XII

NIGER PROVINCE

1. *Nupe*¹

Early traditions **T**HERE is a tradition that sometime during the seventeenth century, or even earlier, a Nupe called Tsoede (Hausa Edegi) came from the lower Niger and settled at Nupeko, at the confluence of the Niger and Kaduna rivers. He was the first Etsu Nupe. Of his successors very little is known beyond their names and the fact that they are known to have lived at Nupeko, Jima, Mokwa, and Gbara.² They used to raid as far as Kabba.

Majia and Jimada rivals On the death of Etsu Nupe Muhammadu, at the time of the jihad, his son Majia had a rival in the person of his cousin Jimada. Civil war broke out between them and they established themselves on opposite sides of the Niger, Majia at Rabba and Jimada at Ragada (near Pategi).

The coming of the Fulani For some years previously Fulani cattle-owners had been arriving in Nupe country in search of fresh pastures. In their train had come a sprinkling of mallams and missionaries, some at the direct invitation of the local chiefs. Among these were Mallams Aliu Wari, Maliki, Babba, and Manzuma, who found their way to Ilorin. Here they were joined by Mallam Dendo from Banganna,³ destined to found the Bida dynasty, who had been Majia's chaplain for a time but had left him owing to a quarrel.

Jimada killed Majia succeeded in defeating Jimada at Lade and eventually Jimada was killed at Ragada. His followers fled with his young son Idirisu to Adamalelu.

Here was a great opportunity for the Fulani to establish their influence in Nupe, and Mallam Dendo was not slow to seize it. The first necessity was to enlist the sympathy of the Jimada

¹ Called Takpa by Yorubas, related to Kwararafa, in general called Apa. *Nupe* = equivalent of Bepi or Bepe, the name of the old Jukun (Apa) capital near Wukari. *Anu-ipe* = city or big town.

² The ruins of Gbara (now called Jimanli) can be seen to this day to be those of an enormous town.

³ Banganna is very near Zogirma and eighteen miles south-west of Birnin Kebbi.

faction, and to this end Idirisu was induced to slip away from Adamalelu and come to Ilorin. Majia saw that strong action was imperative. Collecting a large army he came down and camped near Sobi hill. A battle was fought near Ilorin and Majia gave ground; eventually the retreat developed into a rout, and Mallam Dendo and Idirisu hotly pursued Majia across the Niger at Rabba, driving him as far as Amgbara in Kamberri country.

*Majia
defeated
by Idirisu
and Mal-
lam
Dendo,
who es-
tablishes
himself at
Rabba*

Mallam Dendo had achieved his object and established himself at Rabba. Mallam Maliki returned to Lafiagi with his kinsmen and Manzuma, while Mallam Babba went to Agaie. Each of these mallams, although not actually invested as Emirs, became rulers in all but name, owing direct allegiance to Gwandu. Each founded a dynasty which has lasted to the present day.¹

Nupe history now resolves itself into continued play and counter-play between the Fulani and the two rival Nupe factions. Later this becomes still further complicated by a split in the Fulani camp.

After seven years, Idirisu, who had built himself a town at Edun, sought to drive out the Fulani from Nupe country. Mallam Dendo had recourse once more to strategy. He sent for Majia at Amgbara and promised him his revenge on Idirisu. Majia took the bait and, coming down in force, routed Idirisu to Ekagi.

*Majia
and Mal-
lam
Dendo
rout
Idirisu*

It was now Majia's turn to be favoured. He was recognized as Etsu Nupe by Mallam Dendo, and built himself a town called Jangi. Cordial relations were soon cemented between the Fulani in Rabba and Majia in Jangi. This is in distinct contrast to the Fulani policy in other states, where the Habe rulers were rarely recognized but rigorously ejected.² In Nupe the Fulani were sufficiently shrewd to see that they were not strong enough to stand alone.

In 1832 Mallam Dendo died at Rabba, and was succeeded by his son Usuman Zaki. Unfortunately for Usuman he in-

*Usuman
Zaki
(1832-
59)*

¹ On Mallam Maliki's death in 1824 his uncle Manzuma claimed the title in opposition to Aliu, Maliki's son, who was considered rather young. Aliu eventually founded the Shonga dynasty and Manzuma the Lafiagi dynasty.

² Cf. Sokoto. The Habe chiefs were maintained in Zamfara.

Masaba evicted from Rabba curred the jealousy of his younger brother Masaba by omitting to make him Yarima. A quarrel arose which came to blows and Masaba was driven out of Rabba. He took refuge in Lafiagi (Doku or Dukpan), and, furious with his brother, he began to intrigue with the Habe Nufawa, reminding them that his mother was a Nupe woman¹ and urging them to drive the Fulani out of Rabba.

Masaba, Majia, and Idirisu defeated by Usuman Zaki Both Majia and Idirisu joined Masaba, and their combined forces attacked Usuman Zaki at Takuma (Gbete District). The result of the battle was a complete victory for Usuman Zaki. Majia fled to Zuguma, Idirisu to Etsu, and Masaba returned to Lade. Not long afterwards Idirisu and Majia both died. Idirisu's son Isa was taken by Usuman Zaki and kept in Rabba; Majia's son Tsado became Etsu Zuguma.

Struggle with Tsado Usuman Zaki thought this a favourable moment to assert himself as the chief of all Nupe country, and told Tsado to acknowledge his supremacy and hand over his state trumpets and other emblems of royalty. This Tsado resolutely refused to do. Fighting ensued, Tsado being forced to retire to Kagowogi, but the result was more or less indecisive.

Revolt against Usuman Zaki who flees to Agaie Usuman Zaki now inaugurated the *Ajele*² system in Nupe and peace reigned for a short time. But Tsado proved a thorn in the flesh and incited the Nupes to rise against the *Ajeles*, many being killed. This rising tempted Masaba to lend a hand once more from Lade. After several defeats, Usuman Zaki was besieged in Rabba, and owing to lack of food he was forced to flee to Agaie with his followers.

On hearing the news of the troubles in Nupe, Sarkin Gwandu Halilu came to Rabba (1841). Here he sent for the following chiefs to meet and discuss the situation: Usuman Zaki from Agaie, Abdullahi, Sarkin Agaie, Shita, Sarkin Ilorin, Abdulkadiri, Sarkin Lafiagi, Masaba from Lade, Tsado and Isa the two Habe Etsu Nupezhi, Aliu, Sarkin Shonga, and Beji, Sarkin Lapai.

Masaba made Emir (1841) As a result of his inquiries Halilu decided to remove Usuman Zaki to Gwandu and to make Masaba, his brother, Emir of Nupe.

¹ Mallam Dendo had seven living sons: Moma Majigi, Abdugboya, and Usuman Zaki, by his Fulani wife Adama; Mustafa, Mamudu, and Masaba, by his Nupe wife Fatima; Ibrahim by another Nupe wife.

² *Deputy.*

Abdulkadiri, Sarkin Lafiagi, was dispossessed of all his country save the town of Lafiagi itself. Beji, Sarkin Lapai, a worthless character, was done away with one night (apparently by Halilu's orders) and his brother Jantabu was given a turban in his place. Masaba returned to Lade, Rabba remained a ruin. Before returning to Birnin Kebbi, Halilu defeated some rebellious Nupes at Etsu and destroyed the town. Tsado died shortly after and his son Etsu Jia was sent to Jangi. For a time Masaba was secure, but only by exercising considerable cunning in the way he played off Etsu Jia against Etsu Isa. It was not long, however, before another civil war broke out. Once again Halilu came from Gwandu to settle matters (1843). Etsu Jia was defeated at Lemfa, and fled to Yeni, where he died three years later. Maza, his uncle, succeeded him as Etsu Nupe. Masaba again attempted to make war on Etsu Maza and Etsu Isa, and gave his general Umar (a one-eyed Bornu man, born at Kuka, who had been in Usuman Zaki's service) instructions accordingly, but Umar turned rebel and joined Maza. Masaba was forced to flee and was eventually held a virtual prisoner at Ilorin.

Another civil war

Masaba flees to Ilorin

Umar now fell out with Maza, whom he fought and killed in Yeni, proclaiming himself Sarkin Nupe. But the Fulani would not hear of this, as he was a mere commoner. Umaru Majigi, the eldest son of Mallam Dendo, was offered the title but refused. He led the Fulani against Umar and drove him to Gbobe. Umaru Majigi sent to Gwandu requesting that Usuman Zaki might be sent back as Emir of Nupe; he also sent to Ilorin to release Masaba.

Umaru Majigi

Umar collected his forces, and twice defeating Umaru Majigi drove him back across the Kaduna and besieged him in Bida. At this stage Usuman Zaki and Wazirin Gwandu arrived from Gwandu, and some time later Masaba from Ilorin. Umar refused to listen to the Waziri, and Umaru Majigi launched a successful night attack, completely routing Umar, who fled. In attempting to cross the Gbako River he was drowned, and his body was brought to Majigi, who ordered the corpse to be decapitated and the head placed on the walls of Bida.

Umar killed

Usuman Zaki re-instated (1856)

Usuman Zaki was now reinstated as Emir of Nupe, and told to live at Bida (1856). Masaba was made Sarkin Fulani and

Masaba
(1859-73) Umaru Majigi became Yarima. Etsu Isa was allowed the empty title of Etsu Nupe but nothing further. Abdulkadiri, Sarkin Lafiagi, and Aliu, Sarkin Shonga, received back most of their territories that had been confiscated from them in 1841 by Halilu. About two years later Usuman Zaki died at Bida (1857-8), and Masaba was made Emir of Bida. All the Nupe chiefs were thereupon sent for by Halilu, Emir of Gwandu; but on the way there they received news that Halilu had died and that Haliru, his brother and successor, wished them to return home and collect their tribute with all speed. This was done.

Masaba now sent Umaru Majigi to enlist the support of Ilorin against a Yoruba chief from Ibadan, named Aggeye, who had been troublesome in the Akoko country. The campaign lasted three years and Aggeye retired to Ibadan.

The Kwenti Rebellion On Umaru Majigi's return he found Masaba involved in the beginnings of another Nupe rising, known as the Kwenti Rebellion. At first Masaba had the support of the Kede people, but when their war chief Choida Lumella was drowned in the Niger, owing to an explosion in his canoe, the Kediya lost heart.

The rebels, consisting of Nupes, Gbedegis, Ebes, and others, managed to prevail against Masaba, but once Umaru Majigi had taken command of the Fulani army the rebel fortunes began to decline, and within a short time the rebellion was stamped out, over six hundred villages in the Kaduna district being destroyed. At this period Umaru Majigi stands out from among his fellows in a class by himself. He had already shown all the qualities of a sound administrator, and he now proved himself a master of strategy.

A few Nupes still held out, but at Leaba the last remnants were dispersed or captured and sold as slaves.

Quarrel between the Fulani After this rebellion had been finally put down, a serious quarrel arose between the Fulani at Bida and the Fulani at Agaie and Lapai. A Bida raiding-party had set out against the Kakandas but had been repulsed; they foolishly turned aside and began raiding Agaie and Lapai districts—a gross breach of the peace. Masaba attempted to justify it by claiming sovereign rights over Agaie and Lapai, and if it had not been for the un-

failing good sense of Umaru Majigi, a disastrous inter-Fulani war would have been precipitated.

Sarkin Gwandu Abdulkadiri set out for Nupe to settle this dispute, but died *en route* at Besse (1868) just after the initiation of the famous Lafiya Toga.¹ His successor, Almstaffa, visited Nupe in 1871, and at a meeting of all the chiefs exhorted them to pull together for the sake of their race and their religion. He received many handsome presents and guns from Bida.

Not long after his departure Masaba died at Bida and was succeeded by Umaru Majigi as Emir of Nupe (1873).

Having received a flag from Almstaffa in person, Umaru Majigi spent his first year or two in subduing the Igbiras. He lent assistance to Sarkin Kontagora in quelling a Gwari rising. He was then summoned to Gwandu with his army to assist Hanufi (who had succeeded Almstaffa) in attacking the Argungu town of Giru. The town fell (it has remained under Gwandu ever since), and the Nupe army returned home after a six months' absence.

*Umaru
Majigi
(1873-
84)*

There followed a few punitive expeditions and small risings. Etsu Baba, son of Sachi, created trouble in Kontagora country, and was finally drowned in crossing the Niger after being defeated at Leaba. This was known as the Fagbagba War.

*The Fag-
bagba
War*

The next landmark in Nupe history is called the Ganigan War. It originated as follows. Masaba had appointed Mallam Isatakun to be Kuta of the Kede people on the death of Kuta Bake. But Mallam Isatakun had no wish to live at the waterside and eventually transferred the title to his younger brother Usuman. Usuman was a Kede by descent, and was welcomed at Muregi by the Kediya. After a while Mallam Isatakun sent his two sons to be given the offices of Choiwa Kuta and Tsado Somfada, but Usuman refused on the grounds that they had nothing in common with the Kede watermen. In any case Usuman's own sons held the ranks already.

*The
Ganigan
War*

This infuriated Mallam Isatakun, and he did not rest until he had incited Umaru Majigi to make war on the Kediya. Usuman was captured and brought to Bida, where he was killed.

Mallam Isatakun now resumed the office of Kuta and lived at Dokomba, giving his two sons rank and power, one in Egba

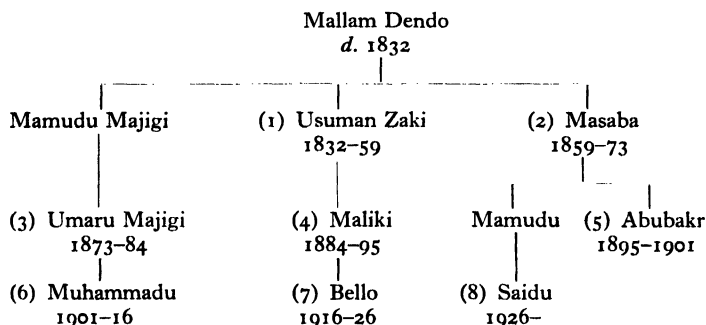
¹ See Gwandu section.

and the other in Muregi. Isatakun remained at Dokomba until the Niger Company's campaign in 1897. He had intended helping the Company against Bida, but hearing that Mr. Wallace had brought Yahaya from Lokoja and had promised him Kuta, he altered his mind and fled to Bida, where he died in 1908.

Umaru Majigi died in 1884 just before the end of the Ganigan War. He was succeeded as Emir of Nupe by Maliki, son of Usuman Zaki. Maliki divided up the southern portion of Nupe and allowed the fiefholders a free hand, so that many irresponsible raids were made in the Kabba country during his reign.

Maliki died in 1895 and Abubakr, son of Masaba, now became Emir of Nupe.

THE EMIRS OF BIDA AND NUPE



Early in 1897 the Niger Company took Bida, and from there proceeded to Ilorin, which they took on the 16th of February of the same year. Abubakr was deposed and Muhammadu, son of Umaru Majigi, was installed in his place. Etsu Idirisu Gana, who was living at Bida, refused to help the Fulani against the Niger Company, and Mr. Wallace then brought him across the river to Pategi and re-installed him as Etsu of the Nupes. He died in 1900 and was succeeded by his son Maazu Isa.

Between 1897 and 1901 a state of chaos reigned at Bida. In February 1901 Sir Frederick Lugard advanced on Bida and summoned Abubakr (who had returned as Emir) and the Bida chiefs to come out and meet him. Only the Makum, Muhammadu, who had been previously installed by the Company, obeyed. On the entry of the troops into Bida, Abubakr and the Masaba section took to flight.

Muhammadu was for the second time proclaimed Emir and reigned until his death at Bida in 1916. He was succeeded by Bello, son of Maliki, and a grandson of Usuman Zaki, who died in 1926 and was succeeded by Saidu, grandson of Masaba.

Bello
(1916-26)
Saidu
(1926)

2. *Kontagora*

The founder of the present Kontagora dynasty was a famous Sokoto warrior named Umaru Nagwamatse. He was born in 1806 and was the tenth son of Abubakr Atiku, third Emir of Sokoto.

Umaru
Nagwa-
matse

A typical adventurer, full of character and impatient of authority, he proved a somewhat difficult person in Sokoto, and at the age of forty odd we find him entrusted with the command of a post on the Sabon Birni-Isa-Kaura road at Katuru,¹ to prevent the Gobirawa from raiding Zamfara by this route. His personality and influence were such that his elder brother Ahmadu Zaruku (subsequently fifth Emir of Sokoto) grew jealous of him and caused him to be recalled and humbled. Later he was sent to Gummi to assist Agwaregi, Sarkin Mafara,² who on hearing the news is said to have exclaimed 'Kasa! angwamat-seni',³ which is the alleged origin of the name Nagwamatse. Another version is that Ahmadu dan Atiku built for Umaru the town of Gwamatse (five miles south-west of Wamako), but that the town would not fill owing to Umaru's tyrannical disposition, and he was recalled to Sokoto, where he became known as Na Gwamatse. Nagwamatse spent two years raiding the surrounding country and gathering much spoil, but Agwaregi eventually managed to persuade the Sarkin Musulmi that Nagwamatse was exceeding his instructions, and he was once more recalled to Sokoto.

Not long after this he visited Gwandu, and hearing of the civil war raging in Nupe, he decided to go south and try his fortune there. When he arrived, Masaba's⁴ Beri-Beri general Umar had just revolted; Nagwamatse's assistance was refused, and so he passed on to Abuja, where he stayed two years. But on the

Goes to
Nupe

¹ Ten miles south of Isa.

² Title of the chiefs of Gummi who submitted to the Fulani.

³ 'Alas, I have been put upon!'

⁴ Gwandu's representative in Nupe; subsequently second Emir.

subsequent defeat of Umar by the combined forces of Umaru Majigi, Usuman Zaki, and Masaba, he made friends with his kinsman, and having attached Umar's defeated followers to himself he assisted Usuman Zaki (now Emir of Nupe) to subjugate the surrounding country.

Establishes himself at Bogi On Masaba's accession Nagwamatse received permission to establish himself at Bogi (near Wushishi) where he stayed for many years living on the spoils of his forays.

The extent of his conquests became more and more considerable, and in 1859, when his elder brother Zaruku became fifth Sarkin Musulmi, one of Zaruku's first acts was to confer the title of Sarkin Sudan¹ on his younger brother, doubtless in the hope of keeping him at a distance.

Nagwamatse responded by large presents of slaves and horses to Sokoto. Communication with Sokoto, however, was threatened by the hostility of the Kumuku chief of Kotonkoro, Sarkin Bamu, which led to a long and desultory war.

Builds Kontagora Nagwamatse now turned his eyes to the Kamberri and Yawuri country. At this time there were two rival chiefs of Yawuri, Dan Gajere at Masamagu,² and Dan Addo on a Niger island called Ikum. Nagwamatse assisted Dan Gajere, but in doing so he established himself strongly in the Kamberri country, building himself the town of Kontagora on the river of the same name, which he made his head-quarters. From here he waged war afresh with the Kumukus, and eventually succeeded in capturing Kotonkoro and Womba, driving away a Maradi chief named Dan Zambari who had come down to assist the Kumukus.

Extent of his raids Nagwamatse at one time or another raided the Bassa, Kamberri, Yawuri, Gwari, Kumuku, Dakkakerri, and Dukawa towns round Kontagora; but in 1871 Almstaffa, Sarkin Gwandu, came to Kontagora and warned him to keep his hands off Yawuri, which was under the suzerainty of Gwandu.

Modibo (1876-80) Nagwamatse died at Anaba in 1876 at the age of seventy, being succeeded by his son, Modibo, who himself died in Kontagora four years later.

Ibrahim (1880- He was succeeded in 1880 by his brother Ibrahim, the present

¹ Sarkin Sudan = King of the Blacks, i. e. the uncivilized pagans whom Nagwamatse was conquering.

² Fifteen miles west of Kontagora. See Yawuri section.

Emir, then a young man of twenty-three, who was officially installed as Sarkin Sudan from Sokoto.

He soon commenced to make himself felt by assisting Umaru Majigi, Sarkin Nupe, to exterminate the last remnants of the Habe Nufawa under Etsu Baba in Zuguma and Leaba. After this he made several raids on the Gwaris, at one time coming to his father's old head-quarters near Wushishi, after Umaru Majigi had been repulsed from Minna by the Gwaris. His raids extended to the River Gurara, and his kingdom now stretched from the Gurara near Abuju right across to Leaba on the Niger, a belt one hundred and fifty miles long and perhaps fifty miles broad.

*Extent of
his king-
dom*

Returning to Kontagora he was summoned by the Sarkin Musulmi, 'Dainyen Kasko', to aid Tukur, Sarkin Kano, against Aliu, but he wisely excused himself.

Again he attacked the Gwaris and besieged Birnin Gwari. The Gwaris were assisted by the Gobirawa and Habe from Maradi, but Ibrahim severely routed them and captured the town.

*Conquers
the
Gwaris*

He continued to raid the Dakkerri and Yawuri country to the north, usually with success, but suffered a severe reverse at Peni Amana.

When it was heard that Abarshi, Sarkin Yawuri, had assisted the British troops at Yelwa, Ibrahim received orders from Sokoto to arrest Abarshi and take over Yawuri. He summoned Abarshi to meet him at Shonga, but took no further action and returned to Kontagora, where another Nupe revolt was in progress. He quelled this drastically. A few months afterwards the British forces entered Kontagora. Early in 1901 Lieut.-Colonel Kemball attacked Kontagora from the west or Niger side, Yawuri having already submitted. The resistance was slight, and the Emir and his army were hotly pursued eastwards.

*British
Occupa-
tion
(1901)*

As all the Nagwamatse family had fled, Abarshi, Sarkin Yawuri, was installed. But neither he nor his son Ganni could tolerate the position, so that a trial was made with one Maiyaki Ibrahim, a Nupe who had taken service with Sarkin Yawuri.

Early in the next year (1902) Ibrahim, who had again collected a large following, began raiding Zaria with unabated ferocity, but was captured and imprisoned in Lokoja, being subsequently

*Ibrahim
captured
and de-
ported*

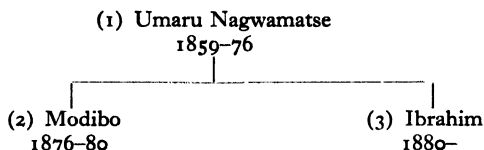
deported to Yola. His chiefs had almost all escaped capture and had fled to Sokoto, but a great number of his followers submitted and were allowed to return home.

Reinstated (1903) In April 1903 it was decided to allow Ibrahim to return, but his powers as Emir were greatly curtailed. Shortly afterwards he was charged with slave-dealing, but was pardoned by the High Commissioner.

In 1906 Ibrahim was formally recognized as a First Class Chief and the districts forming his Emirate—with the exception of the Dakkakerris and Gwaris—were restored to him.

The Acting Emir, Maiyaki Ibrahim, was appointed Sarkin Sakaba, Chief of the Dakkakerris Districts, and held the position until 1913, when he retired on a pension, and the Dakkakerris were recognized as a Pagan Division, their chiefs being directly responsible to Government. This continued until April 1919, when the Sarkin Dabai was recognized as a paramount chief.

THE EMIRS OF KONTAGORA



3. *Abuja*

Makau flees from Zaria and founds the Abuja Kingdom About 1804, as it is recorded in the Zaria section, the last Kado ruler of Zaria, Makau, was forced to seek refuge with his followers among his vassals the Koro. In 1807 he settled at Zuba (near the present town of Abuja), and founded the kingdom now known as the Abuja Emirate.

Abuja built by Abu Ja The Gwari and Koro continued to pay Makau tribute as they had done in former years, and eventually Makau considered himself strong enough to attack the powerful town of Lapai, but he was killed in the assault. His followers immediately retreated to their own country and elected his brother Jatau to succeed him. This man became known as 'Abu Ja' (Abu the Red) and he built the large walled town, known after him as Abuja, where he reigned for twenty-four years. He was succeeded by his brother Abu Kwaka, who was the first to allow

strangers within the gates of Abuja. Ibrahim, son of Abuja, succeeded him in 1877, and in 1893 he repelled an invasion of Abuja, led by the Emir of Zaria, with tremendous loss.

On the arrival of the British at the beginning of the present century, the country was in an unruly state. It was found necessary to make a show of force at Abuja, where an expedition led by Colonel Beddoes and accompanied by the Resident, Captain Moloney, took the town and arrested a number of chiefs (August 1902). Ibrahim died of his wounds, and Muhammad Gani, son of Abu Kwaka, was established as Emir of Abuja. The district was not, however, administered till 1904.

Muhammad Gani retired in 1917 on a pension, and he was succeeded by Musa Angulu, son of Ibrahim.

The Emir of Abuja is still entitled Sarkin Zazau, and it is said that even now daily prayers are offered up in the mosque for his return to Zaria. The chief badge of office is the *Wukan Zazau* (knife of Zazau).

The old Habe customs are maintained and there is said to have been always a Saraunia, or queen, who is the king's sister, ruling jointly with the king. She is supposed to abdicate on the king's death, but the present Saraunia has broken this rule. The present office of Iya is also held by a woman. By ancient custom she should be the daughter of a king, but owing to the speedy deaths of a succession of Iyas no one would accept the office, and Muhammad Gani therefore appointed the chief concubine of Ibrahim, who was known as 'Matan Fada'. Neither the Saraunia nor the Iya has had any part in the administration since 1909.

Ibrahim
(1877-
1902)

Abuja
occupied
by the
British
(1902)

Muham-
ma Gani
(1902-17)

Musa
Angulu
(1917-

Old
Habe
Customs
main-
tained

THE EMIRS OF ABUJA

Bako Isiaku, Sarkin Zazau

Makau
Sarkin Zazau 1801-4
Sarkin Zuba 1804-25

(1) Jatau or 'Abu Ja'
1825-51

(2) Abu Waka
1851-77

(3) Ibrahim
1877-1902

(4) Muhammad Gani
1902-17

(5) Musa Angulu
1917-

4. *Agaie*

The Gananas Before the advent of the Fulani the country was in the hands of the Gananas. Before them again there are vague traditions of a people called the Mamas, whom the Gananas are said to have ousted. Etsu Majia was the overlord of the Agaie Gananas.

Mallam Babba, 1st Emir After the defeat of Majia by Mallam Dendo and Idirisu the rival Etsu, when Majia was driven across the Niger at Rabba into Kamberri country, Mallam Babba, a colleague of Mallam Dendo, set himself up as Emir of Agaie at Nko-sheppa. This place can still be seen, about three miles west of Agaie, by the *rimi* trees planted there.

Mallam Babba soon made himself master of a wide tract of country stretching southwards to the Niger and westwards to the Kaduna River.

Daudu Maza His chief general or Maiyaki was Daudu Maza. After five years of fighting, the latter, who had been sent on an expedition to Lapai, decided to carve out a kingdom for himself and made himself Chief of Lapai.

Abdullahi (1832-57) Before Mallam Babba's death he got permission from Gwandu for his son Abdullahi to be installed as Emir, he himself merely acting as Regent. He died in 1848.

Mamman Dikko (1857-77) Abdullahi was succeeded by Mamman Dikko (1855-77) and in conjunction with Jantabu, Emir of Lapai, he joined Masaba, Emir of Nupe, in his contest with his rebel general Umar.

Nuhu (1877-1900) Masaba one day unwisely started to raid the Agaie farms, and only desisted when the Emir of Agaie appealed to the Sarkin Sudan of Kontagora for help.

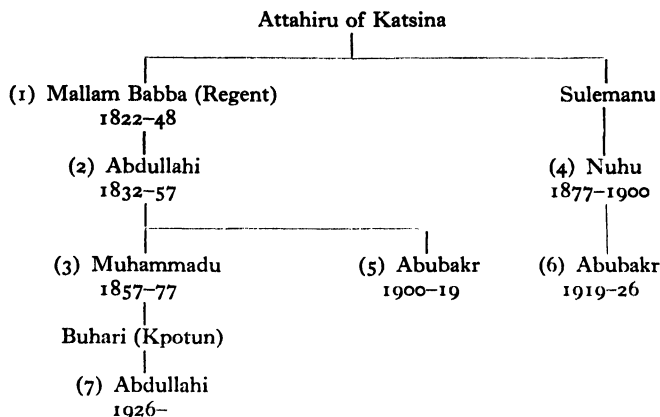
British Occupation Up to the British Occupation Agaie seems to have co-operated with Bida in her slave-raiding expeditions. Against the advice of Etsu Nuhu, the Agaie chiefs assisted Bida against the Niger Company, with foregone results.

Abubakr (1900-19) Agaie was occupied and Lapai was burnt. Abubakr succeeded Nuhu in 1900, but took no part in the subsequent

Abubakr (1919-26) defence of Bida. After a wise and successful rule of nineteen years he died at an advanced age in Agaie on 24 July 1919. He

Abdullahi (1926- was succeeded by Abubakr, Kpotun of Kuturiko, who reigned until 1926, when he was succeeded by Abdullahi, the grandson of Muhammadu, the third Emir.

THE EMIRS OF AGAIE

5. *Lapai*

The first records of the Fulani settlement at Lapai date from the arrival of one Dampami, a Cow-Fulani from Damatumaki. He owed allegiance to Isiaku, the Kado king of Zaria, with the title of Sarkin Fulani. *Dampami*

His grandson Daudu Maza was the head of the clan when the jihad broke out in Gobir. He went and received a flag from Abdullahi, Emir of Gwandu, and proceeded to subdue the country round Lapai.¹ *Daudu Maza*

Makau, the ousted Kado king of Zaria, tried to overpower Daudu Maza at Lapai, but was killed near the gates of the present town about 1825.

Having established himself firmly in Lapai, Daudu Maza was officially recognized by the Emir of Gwandu as Sarkin Lapai. At this time Usman Zaki was at Rabba and Mallam Babba was settled at Agaie as Emir.

Daudu Maza died in 1832 and was succeeded by his brother Yamusa, who only reigned six years. Popular opinion was against the next brother, Jantabu, so that a younger brother named Baji was elected Emir. *Yamusa (1832-5)*

Baji was too weak to stand against the personality of his *Baji (1835-8)*

¹ A more probable version is that Daudu Maza was Mallam Babba's Maiyaki at Agaie, but that he broke away from him, and set himself up as an independent chief after a campaign in Lapai.

brother, and, falling into licentious ways, he was without difficulty deposed by Jantabu and sent under arrest to Halilu, Sarkin Gwandu. Baji died shortly afterwards in mysterious circumstances.

Jantabu (1838-74) Jantabu reigned for thirty-six years (1838-74). His rule was most successful, and under his leadership Lapai prospered. The

Atiku (1874-5) Emirate extended its borders to the Niger during his reign.

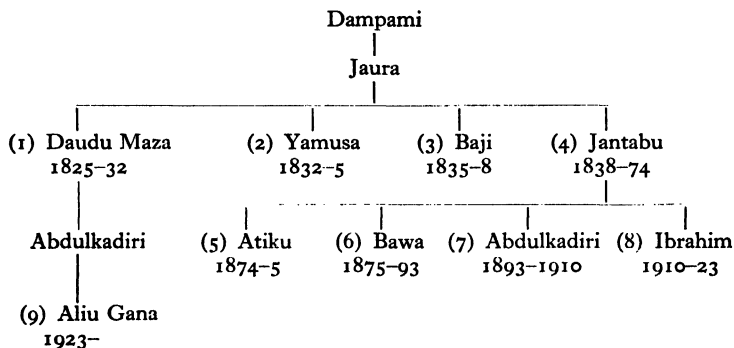
Bawa (1875-93) Atiku his son, who succeeded him, died a year later; a second son, Bawa, somewhat of a profligate, died in 1893. His brother, the seventh Emir, Abdulkadiri, was little better, and was extremely unpopular owing to his drunken habits. The Yarima

Abdulkadiri (1893-1910) Ibrahim his brother was approached with a view to deposing him, but Ibrahim wisely refused and contented himself with acting as Regent.

Ibrahim (1910-23) In 1907 Abdulkadiri abdicated, dying three years later, and Ibrahim became the eighth Sarkin Lapai. He died in 1923 and was succeeded by Aliu Gana, a grandson of Daudu Maza.

Aliu Gana (1923-)

THE EMIRS OF LAPAI



BENUE PROVINCE

1. *Keffi*

THE original inhabitants, that is, those occupying the country at the time of the earliest records, were the Gades, Yeskwās, and Bassas. Tradition has little to relate about the origin of these three tribes. The first invaders of whom we have any record were the pagan Hausas from the north—the Gwandaras, the Tonis, and the Koros. They must have come to the country some hundreds of years ago.

*Original
Inhabi-
tants*

The Gwandaras were the most important invaders, the tradition of whose origin is as follows:

*The
Gwan-
daras*

One Kareshi, son of the then Sarkin Kano, was expelled by his father for refusing either to accept Islam or to give up his pagan religious dances. Hence the name of Gwandara was attached to his followers, the original and full appellation being *Gwanda rawa da salla* ('Rather dance than pray'). The Gwandaras under Kareshi went south and founded Kareshi town and kingdom, their king being recognized by the Sarkin Zazau. They established an ascendancy over the surrounding Gade, Bassa, and Yeskwa peoples.

The Kareshi Kingdom seems to have reached considerable proportions, there being a tradition that it extended at one time as far as the Benue in the south and to the Niger in the west. If this is so, the Igbirras, coming from the west, must have driven them north and east again out of the territory in which they founded their once powerful kingdoms of Koton-Karifi and Koton-Panda, which were still flourishing in the time of Abdu Zanga (1802). But it is probable that the authority of the Gwandaras in the distant parts of their empire was but shadowy, and that they did not offer any serious resistance to the invasions of the Igbirras.

The first blow at Gwandara ascendancy was the arrival of a band of Arab horsemen from the region of Lake Chad, who founded the town of Bagaji, first expelling the Gwandaras and their subject Yeskwās and Gwaris from the surrounding country

(c. 1750). The Gwandaras took refuge with the Yeskwās in the Gitata Hills to the north, while the Gwaris fled west to their own country round Karu and Kurafi.

Abdullahi or Abdu Zanga About the time of the Fulani rising in Gobir, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a certain Fulani cattle-owner named Abdullahi, and his father before him, had been in the habit of bringing his herds to graze every dry season on the grass-lands round about what is now Keffi. Every year he used to come from Zanga in Katsina, and was himself known by this name. He eventually decided to stay in this district altogether, and built a stockaded village which was called Keffi (a stockade).

The probable reason for the lack of resistance experienced by Abdu Zanga on his settlement at Keffi was that the Gwandaras were fully occupied by the far more pressing danger of the newly established kingdom of Abuja. Abu 'The Red' was brother of the last Hausa king of Zaria, who was expelled by the Fulani, and on his brother's death, Abu, despite the fallen fortunes of his house, exacted tribute from his former vassals. The unfortunate kingdom of Kareshi had to pay tribute both to Abuja and to Zaria, besides being subjected to slave-raids by Abu.

As may well be understood, the Kareshi Gwandaras, on the arrival of the British, expressed themselves unwilling to follow Abuja at any price, and they were put under the Fulani Emirate of Keffi.

Tradition relates that the ambitious Zanga tried to get a flag direct from the Sarkin Musulmi, but on his way north he fell in with Mallam Musa, the first Fulani Emir of Zaria, who made it quite clear that the country round Keffi as far as the Benue was included in the Zaria fief. Whether Zanga acquiesced in this arrangement or not, it does not seem to have prevented the Zaria horsemen from making a demonstration of force and raiding the village with fire and sword. When Keffi was rebuilt, mud walls replaced the original stockade.

Maizabo (1820-35) Abdu Zanga died in 1820 and was succeeded by his brother Maizabo, who died in 1835. On his death he was succeeded by Jibrilu, son of Abdu Zanga.

Jibrilu (1835-59) During this time there was an important warrior in Keffi who had assisted Abdullahi in his early struggles and who had continued to wage successful wars with the surrounding tribes.

His name was Umaru, but he was afterwards better known as Makama Dogo. One of his achievements was to subdue the Afao tribes nearly as far as the Benue.

Owing to a dispute over a slave girl with Jibrilu,¹ Makama Dogo complained to the Emir of Zaria, Abdulkarim, who offered him the task of subduing the Igbirra kingdom of Panda, at that time at the height of its power and still unconquered. Makama Dogo accepted. The Emir of Zaria saw in this an excellent way of dividing the growing strength of his vassal Keffi. It seemed improbable that Makama Dogo would succeed in conquering the Igbirras and attaching them to Zaria, but Keffi would certainly lose Makama's assistance.

Makama Dogo made his head-quarters at a place which he called Nasarawa, and from here he conquered the Igbirras and destroyed Panda.

Jibrilu died in 1859 and was successively followed by four of his brothers, Muhamma (1859-62), Ahamadu (1862-77), Sidi Umaru (1877-94), and Ibrahim (1894-1902).

During this time there was continual slave-raiding, and by the end of the century the whole country had become seriously depopulated. Every year large caravans of slaves burdened with crops and live stock were sent northwards to the Suzerain Emir of Zaria.

Naturally, therefore, the arrival of the British was not welcomed by the men who made a profitable livelihood out of plunder and bloodshed. The last thing they wanted to see was peace and justice. Such a man was the Emir of Zaria's representative in Keffi, the Magaji, who was in obstinate opposition to the establishment of British rule. In July 1902 Provincial Head-quarters were established at Keffi and a powerful force arrived in the vicinity, which overcame the resistance of Abuja and occupied the town.

In October the Resident, Captain Moloney, who had accompanied the expedition to Abuja, where owing to much lawlessness sharp measures had been taken, attempted to come to an amicable understanding with the Magaji in the hope that the lesson of Abuja had been sufficient, and that he would use his influence to secure a bloodless submission. But the Magaji

¹ See Nasarawa section.

Muhamma
(1859-62)

Ahamadu
(1862-77)

Sidi Umaru
(1877-94)

Ibrahim
(1894-1902)

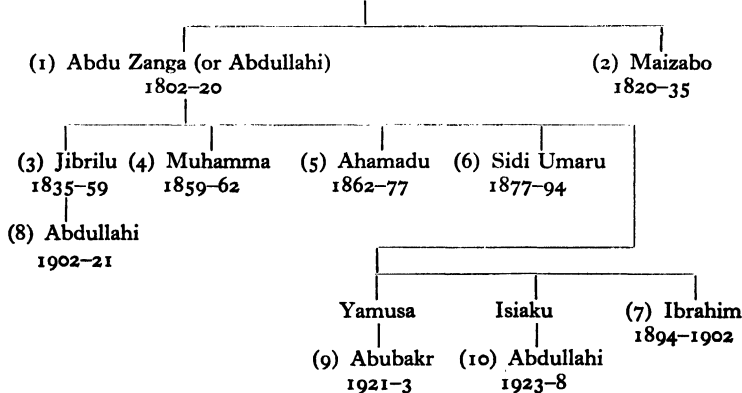
Murder of Captain Moloney evidently feared for his life. On 3 October Captain Moloney and the Assistant Resident, Mr. Webster, proceeded to the square, fronting the Emir's and Magaji's residences, and summoned the Magaji to attend. He declined to do so and the Assistant Resident was then sent to fetch him, but was attacked by the Magaji's retainers and eventually thrown out, narrowly escaping with his life. Captain Moloney then sent Mr. Webster to call up the troops. The Magaji, seeing that his arrest was imminent, rushed out of his house and killed Captain Moloney and the Political Agent, Audu, who was acting as interpreter, and, it is thought, had falsely translated what Captain Moloney had said.

The Magaji then fled northwards, and though pursued was not captured. He was sheltered in turn by the Emir of Zaria, the Emir of Kano, and the Emir of Sokoto, but this action brought them no luck. Zaria lost her Lower Benue provinces, and the Emir Kwassau lost his throne; it precipitated the British Occupation of Kano, when the Emir Aliu was captured and deported; it hastened the fall of Sokoto, when the Emir Attahiru fled, to be killed eventually at Burmi. The Magaji was also killed at the same place.

Abdullahi (1902-21) The aged and useless Emir, Ibrahim of Keffi, was removed, and Abdullahi, sixth son of Jibrilu, was made Emir in 1902. *Abubakr* (1921-3) Abubakr succeeded in 1921, and Abdullahi in 1923. *Abdullahi* (1923-8)

THE EMIRS OF KEFFI

Muhamma Gani (Cattle-owner of Zanga, near Katsina)



2. Nasarawa

The town and Emirate of Nasarawa were founded by Umaru Makama Dogo of Keffi about 1835.

*Umaru
Makama
Dogo*

Umaru was a Katsina Fulani slave, who had run away and attached himself to Abdullahi of Zanga, the founder of Keffi, while still a youth. He became a man of great importance in Keffi, and was appointed Makama and entrusted with the command of the Keffi forces. Not long after Jibrilu became Sarkin Keffi, a quarrel sprang up between him and Makama Dogo. While Makama Dogo was away fighting, a man named Ahmadu heard that a handsome female slave of his was living in Makama Dogo's house, and resumed possession of her. This girl had been originally given by Abdullahi, Sarkin Keffi, in part redemption for the freedom of Makama Dogo. On Makama Dogo's return he could get no satisfaction from Jibrilu, and so he went to Zaria with his complaint. Abdulkarim, Emir of Zaria, jealous of the growing power of Keffi, decided to split away the Makama Dogo faction and gave him the Igbirra kingdom of Panda.

On Makama Dogo's return to Keffi the gates were shut against him, so he departed and went on with his following to Yankardi. Here he was joined by his daughter Halimatu, whom he had given in marriage to Jibrilu; but he told her to return to her husband as 'This matter was between men', and she obeyed. Makama Dogo now remembered a most favourable spot where he and his old chief Abdullahi used to camp. The place used to bring them good fortune and on each occasion they had returned victorious. Abdullahi had predicted that the place would one day become a city; Makama Dogo therefore proceeded thither and in due time built the city of Nasarawa (the Victorious).

*Makama
Dogo
builds
Nasa-
rawa*

From Nasarawa Makama Dogo conquered both the Igbirras and their subject Bassas, broke up their kingdom, and destroyed the town of Panda. Many Igbirra refugees from Panda fled west to the rival Igbirra kingdom of Koton Karifi.¹

On his return from Panda, Makama Dogo assumed the title

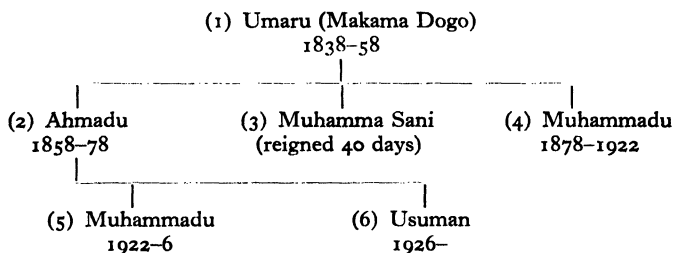
¹ Kwotton Karfi = the strong or unconquered Kwotto. Kwotto is possibly the Hausa way of saying Okpoto.

of Sarkin Kwotto, which is held to this day by the Emir of Nasarawa. At Panda he secured an Igbirra concubine named Wase, who bore him a son named Muhammadu, who became Emir in 1878. In his old age Makama Dogo made friends with Jibrilu, and sent his daughter Halimatu a present of a tall lamp, captured from the chief of Panda. Halimatu had been entrusted with the lighting of the lamps in the mosque, and she placed this lamp in the mosque, where it can be seen to this day. On Makama Dogo's death-bed in 1858 in the presence of Jibrilu, he charged his son Ahmadu to follow the Sarkin Keffi.

Ahmadu
(1858-78) Ahmadu, however, disobeyed his father and retained his independence as Emir of Nasarawa. Within a year he had incurred the displeasure of the Emir of Zaria and was led captive to Zaria, but was afterwards permitted to return. During his twenty years' reign he subdued a number of small towns.

Muhammadu
(1878-1922) In 1878 Ahmadu was succeeded by his brother Muhammadu, a mighty warrior. During his reign the confines of Nasarawa were enormously extended. So successful was Muhammadu that it is thought that but for the coming of the British he would have absorbed most of the adjacent territories into a powerful kingdom of Nasarawa. Sarkin Kwotto Muhammadu was one of the first to make submission to Sir Frederick Lugard in 1900.

THE EMIRS OF NASARAWA



3. *Lafia Beri-Beri*

Origin As the name of the town indicates, the people are Beri-Beri. They came from Bornu in the year 1818 (first year of the reign of the titular Mai Ibrahim ben Ahmed).

Tradition states that their ancestor came originally from the town of Yemma (or Yemen?), near Mecca, though they themselves came from Bornu.

As they were essentially traders, the constant wars in Bornu caused them to seek a new home. Travelling via Kano, Zaria, and Bagaji (near Keffi), they eventually reached Shabu, at that time inhabited by a section of the Gwandara tribe. Still restless, they continued their journey to Shendam in Wukari country. After a brief stay, they again turned their steps towards Shabu, where they settled and commenced farming. Unfortunately, disputes arose over the farm-lands, which led to a fracas in which many were killed. Embittered by this, the Beri-Beri once more collected their household goods and started on their homeward journey to Bornu. At Kwandiri they were met by the chief of that town—a man of much learning and skill—who invited them to stop in his country. This they consented to do.

Chafing at their lack of a fixed abode, they turned longing eyes towards Aninae, at that time a small town under Wukari, and with the assistance of Sarkin Kwandiri they managed to capture this town.

Here they decided to settle, much to the delight of Sarkin Kwandiri, who thereupon expressed the wish that they would settle down *lafia* (comfortably). Hence the name of the present town.

Under the guidance of Dunama, there began an era of great prosperity for the new settlers, who were reinforced by an influx of Beri-Beri from Bornu. *Dunama*

On Dunama's death he was succeeded by Musa the first, *Musa* a man renowned for his warlike capabilities. Under his leadership the new Lafia people increased their dominions, conquering the tribes of Kora, Gwandara, Mama, and Aike, advancing even as far as Monkwor at the foot of the Bauchi Hills. It was during the reign of this powerful chief that the walled town of Jonkwil was broken and the population completely scattered. This was no mean feat, as legend has it that the town was larger than Kano during the reign of Ibrahim Dabo (approx. 1819-46).

But the Lafia people were not to be permitted to harry the borders of Bauchi with impunity, for during the rule of Umur the first, who succeeded Musa, and who was an even greater fighter, the famous Yakubu of Bauchi determined to wage war on Lafia. With a considerable army behind him he marched on Lafia town. On his arrival he divided the army into two, sending

the Madaikin Bauchi with one half to besiege the west and part of the north sides, while he himself attacked from the east and the remaining part of the north; the south was guarded by a broad and deep stream.

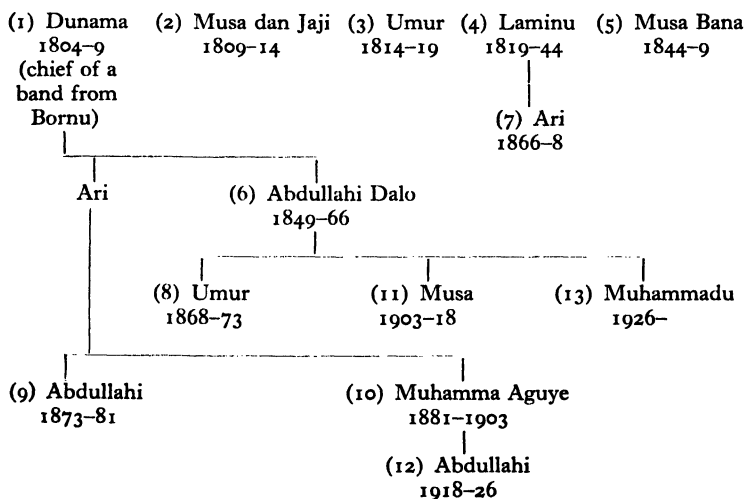
Though undefended by any wall, the people of Lafia gallantly withstood the siege for sixteen days of incessant fighting. At length their valour was rewarded, for on the sixteenth day Umur, by dint of a brilliant sally, captured Yakubu's principal war-drum. This drum still exists, and is among the trophies of the present Sarkin Lafia.

Discouraged by this loss, Yakubu decided to return to Bauchi. But on reaching Adibu he was overtaken by the Madaikin Lafia, who, as representative of the Sarkin Lafia and Council, offered to submit if suitable terms could be arranged. Peace was accordingly declared. Yakubu presented Umur with a flag (also in the possession of the present Sarkin Lafia), while Umur agreed to send one gown annually to the Sarkin Bauchi, but paid no tribute.

*Laminu
builds the
townwall,
Abdu the
war wall*

As a result of this siege, the wall of the town was built by Laminu, the successor of Umur, while a later king, Abdu, built the now famous war wall, which enabled the people to farm all the year round without fear of slave-raiding expeditions.

EMIRS OF LAFIA BERI-BERI



During the reign of Muhamma Aguye, slave-raiding expeditions were successfully undertaken with the assistance of the Sarkin Kwotto into Munshi country. It was these two kings who opened the trade-route from Lafia to Loko and established the Lafia market as one of the chief centres for the Benue trade.

Muhamma Aguye

4. *Doma and Keana (Lafia Division)*

The people of Doma Emirate came originally from Atagara near Iddah in Southern Nigeria about the first half of the thirteenth century, and were of the tribe of Gara.

Origin

Their chief was Andoma, and the second in command was Keana. They travelled widely, eventually settling in the present town of Doma, which is a larger town than Hadejia. It has no open spaces, but two large groves of trees.

Andoma and Keana

After sojourning in Doma for some years, Keana was appointed Burde of Doma. Then it was that Andoma learnt from hunters of a salt-pit some four days march from Doma. He thereupon sent Keana—the Burde of Doma—to investigate and report on the salt. Keana found the salt so good, and the chances of enriching himself so great, that he refused to return to Doma, and built himself a town, which he called Keana.

Andoma then sent many messages to Keana, who, however, still refused to return. Angered by such insubordination, Andoma in his wrath summoned his army and marched on Keana. On his arrival, he made a war-camp near the town which he called Doma. This town has since been destroyed.

Trouble then arose among the people of Andoma, who were loth to wage war upon their own kith and kin. Thereupon Andoma, invoking his god, cursed all his people and those of Keana, calling them Aragogo, by which soubriquet the tribe is now known.

Summoning a blacksmith, Andoma ordered him to make an iron cap wherewith to cover the salt spring. But in his haste he omitted to offer up sacrifices of goats, and the salt water burst the cap in pieces. Accepting this as an omen of the wrath of his god, Andoma bowed his head and returned to Doma. In the meantime Keana, fearing lest he had caused dissension among the tribe, sent to Andoma as a present the first two bags of salt obtained from the pit. This act of generosity so pleased

Andoma that he sent a royal gown to Keana, and created him Sarkin Keana. Even to this day, the first two bags of salt in each year are sent to the Sarkin Doma, not as an act of homage, but in accordance with traditional custom.

The Arago tribe has since split up and made many small towns in the Lafia Beri-Beri Division. These towns suffered severely from the raids of the Sarkin Kwotto, who, however, never ventured to attack the town of Doma.

THE LATER EMIRS OF

DOMA EMIRATE

1. ANDOMA

.....

15. Ogo II (c. 1800)

16. Ankwoyii

17. Amaku

18. Ari

19. Ankwoyii II

20. Amaku II

21. Atta II

22. Ankwe

23. Aso

24. Akabe

25. Agubu

26. Agabo

27. Atta III (1901)

(Presented with staff of office by
Sir F. Lugard at Keffi, 1903)

KEANA EMIRATE

1. KEANA

.....

(next six unknown)

8. Asegia

9. Alio

10. Agale

11. Attake

12. Ayatiko

13. Adasho

14. Aladoga

15. Asegia II

16. Ago (1903)

(Presented with staff of office by
Sir F. Lugard at Keffi, 1903)

ILORIN PROVINCE

1. *Ilorin*

VERY little is known of the pre-Fulani history of Ilorin. *Pre-Fulani history of Ilorin*
 Indeed all but the period immediately preceding the Fulani Conquest is wrapped in obscurity. There are two possible explanations of the name Ilorin. One is that it means 'the sharpening of iron' (*ilo irin*), there being a large stone or stones where implements were sharpened; the actual place is identified with the Bandele compound. Another derivation is 'town of the elephant' (*ilu erin*), the founder of the town being said to be a hunter called Ojo Ise Kuse, who was eventually driven out by a new settler, Eminla by name. In this connexion it is interesting to observe that there is a village just outside Ilorin called Oko Erin, where an elephant is said to have been killed as recently as the reign of Abdussalami; hence the name.

The Emirate of Ilorin is mainly inhabited by Yoruba, including the powerful Igbona or Igbomina tribe which extends from the neighbourhood of Awtun in the south to Share in the north. *Population, tribes, &c.*
 Share town consists of two distinct quarters, one Yoruba and one Nupe. Ilorin city, however, is not considered to be Igbona, though of course the elements in it now are extremely mixed. The chief of the Igbonas was the Olupo of Ajasse, who is said to possess an oil with which not only the Oloffo of Offa, but even the Alafin himself must be anointed before the ceremony of installation is deemed complete. Small areas in the southern part of the province are inhabited by Ekitis (Awtun) and Igboles (in the neighbourhood of Offa). About a quarter of the District Heads are Fulani in origin, two Hausa, two Nupe, and the rest Yoruba.

It is a matter of conjecture how long and to what extent the Alafin exercised a suzerainty over Ilorin. *Various versions of origin of Afonja*
 The connexion seems to have been a loose one. According to one account he was a scion of the royal house of Oyo, being the son of a household slave and a daughter of the Alafin. The Ibanu facial mark across the face is seen in his descendants at the present day.

A similar custom of marrying daughters to slaves, so that children may belong to the father, is, or was, practised in the family of the Olupo of Ajassee.

Local tradition has it that one Laderin, who was connected on his mother's side with the Alafin, left Oyo and settled at Ilorin; and that the famous Afonja was his son, or according to the Oyo account, great-grandson.

Afonja revolts, and is aided by Mallam Alimi In 1817 he made common cause with certain Oyo chiefs who were dissatisfied with the weak and vacillating Alafin, Aole (whose father is said to have had 660 children), and rebelled. The Oyo of those days, commonly known as Katanga, was about half-way between Jebba and Kishi, and as might be expected from its position there was a certain amount of intercourse with the Nupes. Afonja invoked the aid of a Fulani mallam from Sokoto, Alimi by name, who had considerable influence with his co-religionists and a great reputation for piety. He also sought the aid of Solagberu, a powerful Yoruba chief who was a Muslim.

The 'jama'a' Alimi at Afonja's request encouraged bands of Hausas and Fulani from the north known as *jama'a*, which also included many local Muslim Yoruba, to come to Ilorin, and with their assistance Afonja seems to have declared himself independent. It is interesting to note that the present Mosque of Jimma is on the site of Afonja's Tsafi or 'Juju' house.

Afonja, now flushed with success, openly defied the Alafin Maku. The newly enthroned Alafin had sent him a message, 'The new moon has appeared'. To this Afonja insolently replied, 'Let the new moon quickly set'. It was not long, however, before he began to find the presence of the Hausa mercenaries embarrassing. They got out of hand and marched about the countryside pillaging towns and villages. In addition he had the active enmity of the Alafin with which to contend.

Conflict- ing account of part played by Mallam Alimi All local tradition goes to prove that Alimi took no active part in these happenings, that he had no personal ambition, and refused an invitation from Afonja to become a chief. It is said that he exerted himself to restrain the *jama'a*, and that, when they would not listen to him, he contemplated returning to Sokoto in disgust. According to this account, Alimi to the end was only an influential mallam who exercised no political

power and died after living for six years with Afonja and making charms for him. It might be added that this account does not agree with the Oyo version, according to which Mallam Alimi was an ambitious adventurer who conspired to kill Afonja.

Afonja prepared the way for his own destruction by persuading Alimi to send for his sons. In complying Alimi seems to have made it clear to Afonja that he would find them more ambitious than their father. It is probable that Alimi quietly prepared the ground for his son's accession to power. Abdussalami and Shitta in due course arrived. Alimi had two other sons: one Abubakr, Dauda Saloja, whose ruthlessness later earned him the nickname 'Beribepo', and the other Daniyalu, who was born at Ilorin. The District Head of Malete (title Basambo) is the present representative of the former, and the District Head of Ejidogari (title Shiaba) of the latter. These two brothers preferred territorial aggrandizement to succession to the throne.

*Alimi
sends for
his sons*

In 1831 Shehu Alimi died and Abdussalami, known as 'Oba digi aye', who was a much more forcible and ambitious man, set about carving out a position for himself. At that time two men who played an important part in local affairs were Sarkin Gambari and Sarkin Gobir. The former is said to have established himself at Ilorin some time before the arrival of Alimi, while the latter accompanied the mallam from the north. They exercised authority over the Hausawa and Gobirawa, large numbers of whom had followed Alimi to Ilorin. The birthplace of Sarkin Gambari is said to have been Zamfara.

*Abdus-
salami,
1st Emir*

When Mallam Alimi continued his travels farther south to Ogbomoso and other important Yoruba towns (he had previously visited Oyo, where he had several audiences of the Alafin) Sarkin Gobir accompanied him, while Sarkin Gambari remained at Ilorin and acquired considerable power. His importance is attested by the fact that he had *kakaki* and *tambari* (state trumpets and big drums). On the death of the holder of the title in 1831, Bako the son seems to have gone to Abdussalami to confirm or support him in his office. Abdussalami by means of a trick deprived him of his *kakaki* and *tambari*, as a result of which much of his power changed hands. The Sarkin Gambari,

however, still ranks next in importance to the Emir. His successors became District Heads of Igponrin.

Afonja attempts to rid himself of the Fulani, and is killed In the meantime Afonja, resolved to make a supreme effort to get rid of the *jama'a*, invited the Onikoyi and other powerful chiefs to assist him; but his overweening conduct had alienated the sympathies of many, and he overestimated his power to achieve his object. After some fierce fighting, in which Solagberu, as a Yoruba, stood aside, Afonja fell, and his body, pierced by countless arrows, was publicly burnt in the market-place. To this latter fact may be attributed the refusal of the families of Baba-Isale and Magaji Are (the latter of whom is a direct descendant of Afonja) to use ashes in the preparation of food.

Abdussalami, and Afonja before him, had to withstand several expeditions sent by the Alafin against Ilorin. In one of the earlier of these, known as the 'Mugba-Mugba' war, Oyo was helped by Rabba. Owing to constant warfare there were no crops, and both armies were obliged to live on the fruit of the locust tree. In another expedition, known as the Kanla war, the Alafin's forces were routed, as a result of treachery on the part of the Edun of Gbogun. Yet another resulted in the battle of Ogelle and the destruction by the Fulani of many towns in Igbolo country. Ilorin also had to withstand an attack by a Nupe army, an indecisive battle being fought near Sobi. The Fulani had championed the cause of Idirisu, a claimant to the title of Etsu, and it was his rival who led an army to Ilorin.

Solagberu shares the fate of Afonja Solagberu, who lived at Oke Suna just outside the city, had become a thorn in the side of Abdussalami and matters soon came to a head. After much fighting Solagberu was captured and put to death—Nemesis on his defection from Afonja.

The Alafin does Homage Abdussalami was now supreme at Ilorin and daily growing more powerful. His name soon became known far and wide in Yoruba land. Among the powerful towns which he conquered were Gboun, Edun, and Ikoyi. An Oyo account speaks of him as having 'subdued all Yoruba proper'. The Alafin Oluewu was summoned to Ilorin, and though treated with the respect due to a powerful king, he keenly felt the humiliation. A little later he was again bidden to come, but this time he plucked up courage and declined the invitation, with the result that the Fulani went forth and ravaged his country.

Thirsting for revenge, the Alafin now sent round to all the Yoruba chiefs an urgent request to join him in a supreme effort to throw off the Fulani yoke. To this end he also invoked the aid of the Baribas (Borgawa) who had no love for the Fulani. The Bariba leader is variously given as Eleduwe or Worukura Sarkin Nikki (at Ilorin he is known as 'Ikoko', i.e. 'Hyaena'). The Emir of Ilorin, alarmed at the gathering storm, appealed to Gwandu for help, and in 1837 Halilu sent a combined Sokoto-Gwandu force to the succour of Ilorin.

At first the Oyo-Borgu army met with considerable success, but later, in a fierce battle which was waged within the walls of the city, it was defeated and routed, Eleduwe being slain near a locust tree not far from Pakata market. The Borgawa attributed the defeat to the cowardice of the Yorubas; it is said that two powerful Yoruba chiefs were in secret alliance with the Fulani. It is only fair to add that the Yorubas are no less scathing in their opinion of the Baribas, whom they depict as a savage and undisciplined horde intent on plunder. Worukura and the Alafin Oluewu were killed, as well as Sarkin Kaiama, Sarkin Wawa, and many minor chiefs. There is another version that the Ilorins pushed forward a naked woman in the forefront of the army, carrying a calabash of charms and shouting, 'Let nobody look at my person!' whereupon the enemy collapsed wholesale.

*Defeat of
the Oyo-
Borgu
army*

This Ilorin war proved an unparalleled disaster to Nikki and Kaiama, from which they did not recover for years. The Sarkin Bussa supplied a large force but did not himself accompany it. In the course of the fighting Shitta, the future Emir, was wounded in the thigh, but is said to have been miraculously cured by Abdussalami himself. 'Ikoko' is said to have been buried in the compound of Sarkin Karuma.

Jimba, the Emir's chief slave, pursued the routed army, sacked Oyo, and carried away various insignia of office, including the *egun* dress and one hundred brass pots (later to be melted down for ammunition) from the Alafin's palace. The capital was deserted, and after an interregnum a new Alafin set up his government far away to the south at Ago, the present Oyo.

*Sack of
Oyo*

Throughout the long struggle between Oyo and Ibadan and the Fulani of Ilorin the former were always handicapped by

Dissension in the ranks of the Yorubas internal dissension and petty jealousies which the Fulani were at pains to exploit. Disaffected Yoruba chiefs often betrayed the plan of campaign or deserted at critical moments. An instance might be given. On one occasion certain Oyo chiefs sent to the Emir a symbolic message of soap, flesh-brush, and camwood (used for preparing a bride for the wedding night), the significance of which ('we are bringing the bride, in this case the Alafin, to her husband') was fully understood at Ilorin. This astute policy of fostering and taking advantage of dissension in the ranks of opponents was also followed in dealing with the Nupes.

Strange to say there is considerable uncertainty as to whether Alimi or his son Abdussalami received the flag from Gwandu. Sokoto records say it was Abdul Alimu, but local tradition (and the Emir himself) maintain that Abdussalami was the recipient after his father's death. Abdussalami created four war lords who bore the title of Balogun. These were Gambari (Hausa), who is said to have come from Katsina; Fulani, whose family had been settled in Yoruba country (Iresa) for some time; Ajikobi, who had previously lived at Isehin; and Alanamu, who came from Reke and Kuwo. For the three first mentioned the Emir secured flags, while Alanamu was given his later by Shitta.

Shitta, 2nd Emir Having reigned eleven years Abdussalami died in 1842 and was succeeded by his brother Shitta. Up to this time the Fulani had been all-victorious, and it looked as if the famous boast that they would dip the Koran in the sea would be realized. But *Defeat of Fulani at Oshogbo* in 1843 their army under Balogun Ali suffered a disastrous defeat at Oshogbo, which was being besieged for the third time.

Rise of Ibadan Following this decisive victory over the Fulani at Oshogbo (which is described at great length in Johnson's *History of the Yorubas*), Ibadan rose to power and overshadowed Oyo—so much so, indeed, that the Alafin seems to have been uneasy and jealous of this upstart rival. Hence, when some years later the Ibadan army was helping Offa, far from being anxious to promote peace, he was content that Ilorin should keep it busily engaged away from home. He seems to have had secret communication with Ilorin about this time behind the back of the Ibadan chiefs. Once or twice we find Ibadan in alliance with

Ilorin. For instance there was a combined expedition against the unfortunate Igbirra and Akoko tribes—always fair game for Yorubas, Nupes, or Fulani—but it was not long before the ill-assorted allies fell out again. It is significant that in these joint expeditions Ibadan, not Ilorin, seems to have taken the lead.

Halilu, Emir of Gwandu, summoned Shitta to a conference at Rabba, and afterwards visited Ilorin in person. Shitta seems to have interested himself in the never-ending struggles between rival factions of Nupes, and between Nupes and Fulani on the Niger. He was several times appealed to by one or the other party.

*Emir of
Gwandu
intervenes*

The stormy petrel Masaba was taken captive by one of Shitta's Baloguns (Usumanu) and detained at Ilorin.

Shitta died in 1860, and was succeeded by Zubeiru, son of Abdussalami, a fiery Muslim who burnt the juju houses and swore to put to death all pagans. The people said of him *O gbona bi eleko idaji* ('He was hot like a dish of steaming gruel'). Constant warfare is said to have been waged against Ilorin during this reign and Awtun became tributary to Ilorin. It had been brought under Ilorin in Shitta's reign, but a little later Ibadan ousted the Fulani. Ekiti country was always a bone of contention between Ilorin and Ibadan.

*Zubeiru,
3rd Emir*

*Subjec-
tion of
Awtun*

Zubeiru died in 1868, and was succeeded by Aliu, son of Shitta.

*Aliu, 4th
Emir*

During Aliu's reign the 'Jalumi' war occurred, in the course of which Ikirun, aided by Ibadan, routed the Ilorin army under Ajia which had gone to the help of the Ekitis; thousands lost their lives in attempting to cross the river Otin—hence the name given to the war.

*'Jalumi'
War*

According to the Offa account, the Oloffa was invited by the Fulani to join in the expedition. This he would not do at first, disapproving of an attack on Ikirun, but eventually he agreed to send a detachment. Ilorin blamed Offa for the defeat, alleging that their support had been half-hearted. So it came about that an expedition against Offa was organized under the leadership of Karara, Balogun Gambari. According to the Oyo account, the Offa contingent was responsible for the disaster at the River Otin, having broken the bridge in the rear of the Ilorin army.

Offa War

*Karara,
Balogun
Gambari*

The Emir was lukewarm over the expedition, fearing the anger of the Alafin, who had several illustrious Ilorin prisoners in his hands and at his mercy, but he seems to have been overruled by his chiefs. The war with Offa, often wrongly called a siege, dragged on for ten, some say thirteen years. In the early stages the Ilorin army was encamped at Ojuko some ten miles distant. Then they moved nearer to Idiagowo and eventually to Iyanago. A huge silk-cotton tree planted by him still marks the site of Karara's camp. In the later stages the Fulani more or less effectively cut off the supplies of food-stuffs which Offa had been growing to the south of the town, and the population was reduced to dire straits. Karara, with his monstrous face and hirsute eyebrows, inspired terror in both sides.

*Visits of
Carter
and
Bower to
Ilorin* Several efforts were made to compose the difference between Ibadan and Ilorin. In 1886 an emissary from Gwandu visited Karara in his camp. Later Sir Gilbert Carter, Governor of Lagos, and Captain Bower (whose name is still well remembered in Ilorin) visited Karara, and went on to Ilorin to have an interview with the Emir. The latter seems to have been sympathetic; but Karara, who was on bad terms with the Emir and doubtless feared the reception he would get at home if he did not return victorious, was resolved to continue the Offa war. He treated the various envoys sent to him with scant respect, and demanded as a condition of peace that Ibadan should not only retire forthwith from Offa, but also hand over all Ekiti country. The Ibadans tell many stories of Karara's haughty bearing and unciliatory conduct.

*Offa
rebuilt* When Offa was eventually captured in 1891, wholesale slaughter took place and the town was deserted, the Oloffa and survivors fleeing south to Ido Osun, where they built a new town. In 1902 the Emir invited the Oloffa Adigboye to return and Offa was rebuilt. Karara died in camp, but his body was brought back and buried in Ilorin.

For some time the Fulani had not by any means been having things all their own way, their advantage of employing cavalry being now more than counterbalanced by the fact that the Yoruba of the south had learnt to use guns and powder. The Ibadans and the Egbes fell out over alleged traffic in fire-arms with Ilorin, which shows that the Fulani were alive to the

necessity of putting themselves on level terms with their more up-to-date opponents.

In 1891 Aliu died and was succeeded by Moma, who at the time was absent with the Ilorin armies in the field. He is said to have returned to Ilorin with an escort of twenty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse! *Moma, 5th Emir*

Moma, being the son of a Yoruba woman from Iseyin, adopted a much more conciliatory attitude towards Oyo than did his predecessors. On his accession he exchanged valuable presents with the Alafin. So too he welcomed the Governor of Lagos on the occasion of his visit, and terms of peace were arranged. Unfortunately there were many prominent men in Ilorin who did not take such an enlightened view of the situation and trouble was destined soon to break out again.

The Balogun Alanamu was a man of great ability and had acquired unlimited power among the Ilorins. He joined forces with the Balogun Gambari, the next senior chief, and soon tore away the remaining power from Moma, who became a mere figure-head. These two Baloguns ran riot over the country, seizing and selling slaves and acting in a most outrageous fashion. Rarely a day passed but a person was impaled or otherwise tortured outside one or the other's compound, and murder was committed with impunity by their followers.

In 1895 Alanamu intrigued with Alege,¹ a brother of Moma, for Moma's removal. Alege leapt at the idea, and very soon had broached the proposal to the other chiefs, who were only too willing to follow any course which Alanamu proposed. The Emir was besieged in his palace, nearly the whole town joining against him. For nearly a week he succeeded in defending himself, but eventually, seeing the hopelessness of further resistance, he blew himself up with his chief slave. Alege then put forward his claim to the Emirate, but Alanamu expressed his horror and disgust at such an idea, telling the following parable, which has become famous in Ilorin: *Violent death of Moma*

A man desired a woman as his wife; she agreed on the condition that he brought his mother's heart as a gift to her. He did so; and then the woman said, 'You are not fit to live, let alone marry'.

¹ The District Heads of Akambi are descendants of Alege.

Applying this to Alege, Alanamu asked how, with his hands red with the blood of his brother, he could expect to reign over the people. Alege was dumbfounded, returned to his house, and never again crossed the threshold, dying in 1913.

Sulimanu,
6th Emir Alanamu, recognizing the fact that Sulimanu, the son of Aliu, the fourth Emir, was without influence or power, decided to have him made Emir so that his own power might increase in inverse ratio. Sulimanu was therefore made Emir in 1896. Alanamu became more arrogant than ever, and virtually ruled Ilorin.

Bower's
constabulary Some little time earlier the Governor of Lagos, in order to prevent the Ilorins continuing their raids to the south, had stationed a post of the Lagos constabulary at Ode Otin, and in 1894 a boundary was fixed by Captain Bower (representing Lagos) and Captain Lugard, who represented the Niger Company. In 1896 the Ilorin *Ajeles* were driven out of Awtun, Ishan, Ikole, and Aiyede.

Reverse
at Ode
Otin The result naturally was that these places ceased to pay tribute to or obey Ilorin. The Emir, or rather perhaps Alanamu, decided to send an army under the four Baloguns to retrieve the fortunes of Ilorin. Fighting continued for some time without any apparent result. Early in 1897 Captain Bower sent twelve men and one gun to assist the Ore. The next day the two armies joined battle. The constabulary set up their gun on a small hill outside Erimopwe near the road, and killed a large number of Ilorins. Adamu, Balogun Gambari, was shot while standing on the spot where the Iloffa Rest-House is now built. The Ilorins fled, leaving horses and booty behind, but burying Adamu on a hill near by.

The
Royal
Niger
Company In 1895, in order to protect the neighbouring tribes from Nupe raiders, a post had been placed at Kabba by the Royal Niger Company, who were also not without fear of being attacked at Lokoja. The Nupes at Bida had been for many years growing more and more powerful. Between 1860 and 1870 the Nupe Fulani under the Emir Masaba had overrun nearly all that country now called the Kabba Division. The Aworo, Kankanda, Yagba, Bunu, Igbirras, and Akokos were all attacked in turn. The last named formed one of those unhappy districts alternately raided by the Nupes, Ibadans, and Ilorins. In many of these raids the pagan Igbona chiefs joined.

By 1897 the position of the Royal Niger Company at Lokoja was precarious, and to defend themselves and the neighbouring pagans an expedition was decided upon against Bida and Ilorin. Bida was first visited, then Ilorin, the troops crossing the River Niger at Jebba on their way from Bida to Ilorin. The Ilorin army hurried back from Erimopwe to defend their city.

*Capture
of Ilorin*

Little or no fighting appears to have occurred at Ilorin; the Emir and Baloguns fled, and the Fulani quarter of Ilorin City was burnt on 15 February 1897. Messages, however, were sent out recalling the Emir and Baloguns, and a treaty was signed by which the Emir became a vassal of the Company. The town walls were destroyed and a fort built near the Oshogbo gate. In 1898, when Ilorin was held by a detachment of the West African Frontier Force under Captain Somerset, as a result of the broken power of Ilorin all the Ekiti revolted, and at the instigation of Major Reeve Tucker, the Resident of Ibadan, the Ekiti Council was formed with the Ore of Awtun as President.

When the first Resident of Ilorin (the Honourable D. W. Carnegie, who was killed by Tawaris in Kotonkarifi on 27 November) was appointed in 1900, a woeful condition of affairs existed. The Emir Sulimanu was a mere puppet in the hands of the Baloguns, especially of Alanamu, who was the actual ruler and bitterly hostile to the new Government, which he opposed in every way, warning the people that the stay of the white man would be short, and that on their departure summary vengeance would be meted out to any who dared disobey him. Crime was rampant in the city; gangs of robbers entered houses in daylight, took what they wanted, and did not hesitate to commit murder. No road was safe for man, woman, or child; no caravan was allowed to pass down to Lagos, neither were traders from the Lagos hinterland allowed to enter Ilorin. The larger towns had thrown off their allegiance after Ilorin had been broken by the Company, and the more important chiefs started to raid the smaller fry. Eventually an escort of soldiers from Jebba had to be called in, which changed the aspect of affairs. In a very short time most of the towns except those along the Lagos boundary had returned to their allegiance. The Emir, finding himself backed up by the Resident, broke away

*Balogun
Alanamu*

from the constraining hand of Alanamu and other chiefs, and commenced to act up to his position in a way which showed that he realized how the tide had changed. No longer was he a figure-head shaking in his shoes with dread of a sudden death, but an Emir, supported by the Government, who insisted on the payment of tribute.

Fall of Alanamu Alanamu's time had come. At an enormous meeting outside the Emir's palace he was judged to be unfit to hold his position, was publicly deposed and stripped of his estates. He left Ilorin for Ogbomoso, where he lived till his death in 1910. It is worthy of notice that this man, who had ruled Ilorin for nearly twenty-five years, should have been deposed and disgraced without a single riot or the use of troops.

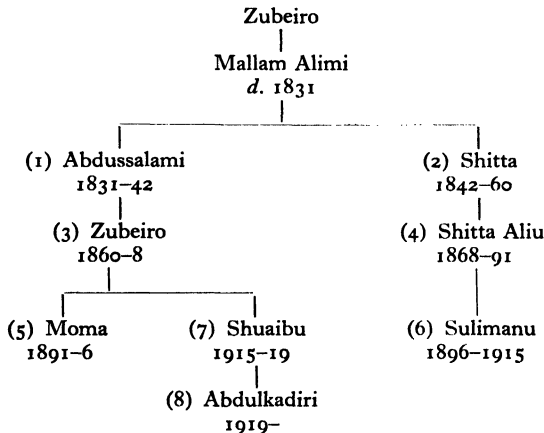
Loyalty of Suli-manu During the Sokoto-Kano expedition in 1902-3 a messenger arrived from Sokoto suggesting that Ilorin should create a diversion in order to help them. But the Emir would not listen to the suggestion, and the messenger was driven from the town.

Early stages of tribute During 1903 the re-enforcement of the tribute was undertaken. Since 1897 practically none had been paid, but little difficulty was found in the collection except on the Lagos boundary. One-fourth of all tribute was paid into General Revenue, the balance going to the Native Administration.

Obstruction by Balogun Ajikobi, 1907 The Native Administration made steady progress until, in 1907, peace was suddenly threatened. Balogun Ajikobi, Magajin Gari, and Ajaji Ogidilolu, the last representatives of the old raiders, held very great power, their followers outnumbering those of the Emir and the other three Baloguns. By passive resistance these three men had always constituted a stumbling-block to progress, viewing with intense dislike the attempts of the Emir to assert his authority. The efforts to win over these malcontents as loyal supporters of the Emir and Government resulted only in the prevention of open acts of hostility. At the end of 1906 and the beginning of 1907 frequent murders were reported at Olufuganga and Bode Sadu, over twenty men and women being shot down in broad daylight by hunters at the instigation of these three men. The Emir's and the Resident's messengers were openly flouted and threatened. The hunters, some six hundred in number, then collected in Ilorin City and the whole town was in an uproar, the three ringleaders urging

the hunters to attack the Residency. The Emir, though powerless to put down the riot, remained loyal to the Government throughout.

Eventually seventy-five rank and file arrived at Ilorin, and largely allayed the excitement. The three ringleaders were arrested and sentenced to deportation, and a large number of the hunters were tried for murder, three being convicted. It is not easy to understand the reason for this outbreak, but there can be little doubt that the whole affair was in the first instance engineered to throw discredit upon the Emir. There is also no room for doubt that it was partly due to the old struggle between the Yoruba and Fulani, stage-managed from over the border, for a large deputation arrived from Lagos to demand the release of these men.



A certain amount of rioting occurred in 1913 owing to the levying of a new form of tax. A certain mallam in the Malle quarter, Lawani dan Sarkin Liman Zarumi, who was suspected of being at the bottom of the whole trouble, was promptly arrested by police in his bed, and abducted in the middle of the night. The anti-Fulani element, egged on by Biala, ex-Balogun Ajikobi, seized the opportunity to further their cause, but the arrival of troops soon quelled the disturbances. As a result of an inquiry into this trouble, Government decided that the house of Afonja, represented by Magaji Arre and Baba Isale, should always form part of the Emir's Council.

*Fresh
distur-
bances,
1913*

Shuaibu, 7th Emir Abdulkadiri, 8th Emir Sulimanu died in 1915, and was succeeded by Shuaibu. The latter died in 1919 and the title passed to his son Abdulkadiri.

2. Borgu

Kisra There are many legends about Kisra, the founder of the Borgu nation. Some say that he arose in Mecca preaching a new religion, and was driven thence with his followers by the Muslims. But most accounts give the impression that Kisra was the head of a tiny clan who caused a great stir by refusing to accept the reforms of the Prophet or to be converted to Islam. There was a struggle, in which he was defeated, and with his followers he was forced to cross to Africa and eventually to traverse the continent until they came to the River Niger.

Tradition connects the Yoruba emigration with Kisra's. But here again accounts vary. Some say that Idah's origin is the same as Bussa's, and that when Kisra reached the region of Zaria some of his people broke away and turned south towards the Benue. But it is more probable that the Yoruba emigration under Lamerudu occurred before Kisra's exodus from Mecca. The Yorubas may have been a part of the clan of which Kisra was the head, and it is recounted how they unsuccessfully attempted to persuade Kisra to lead them, and eventually went without him.

However that may be, all legends agree that Kisra's followers at last crossed the Niger at Illo, and that the river was immediately afterwards widened to its present size by a miracle. It is not certain who caused the miracle. It may have been Kisra, who, being pursued by Muslims, thus brought pursuit to an end, or it may have been the Muslims, who thus prevented the unbelievers from ever returning to Mecca. The river once crossed, Kisra expressed his intention of finally settling down.

Nikki and Illo This was the signal for the clan, which so long had held together, to break up. Minor chiefs, perhaps the younger brothers of Kisra, founded the towns of Nikki and Illo. They still looked, however, to Kisra as their leader, both spiritual and temporal.

Bussa Kisra himself set up the kingdom of Bussa, and his semi-priestly status has been handed down to every succeeding king of Bussa and is largely responsible for the sphere of their influ-

ence. Nikki in time past has had greater territory, following, and wealth than Bussa, but has never denied the latter first place.

Kisra was well received by the inhabitants, who were few and far between. There were a few hunters living in small villages, and a number of Yorubas—the outposts of the Yoruba Empire to the south, already founded, according to Borgu tradition, by Lamerudu. There is a story of an attempt to convert Kisra to Islam, which proved only half successful. It is interesting in so far as it explains a custom maintained to this day. The mallams, sent by the Prophet, had succeeded in persuading Kisra to prostrate himself twice, when the latter put an end to the proceedings by entering his house, then mounting a horse and galloping out. He ordered his war-drums to be beaten, and holding his spear in his hand said that twice a year would he consent to prostrate himself, but no more. The mallams returned whence they came, and the Prophet had to be satisfied with this partial conversion. Every year this scene is enacted when Sarkin Bussa, supported by his relations and following, ceremoniously and reluctantly prostrates himself twice, then mounts his horse, and with his spear in his hand shouts to the beat of war-drums his challenge to the Prophet.

From the death of Kisra until the middle of the eighteenth century a gap exists. The names of one or two kings are remembered, but the dates when they reigned are now forgotten. It was during the eighteenth century that Kaiama was founded. *Kaiama*

An event of interest in the history of Bussa is the visit of Mungo Park in 1805. Kitoro I was king of Bussa at the time when Mungo Park arrived, and during the latter's stay he presented to Kitoro the silver medallion which has been carefully preserved by succeeding kings of Bussa. It is said that the English traveller stated that the medallion would be of great interest and value to future generations. It has certainly been carefully preserved, and now, mounted as a ring, is much prized by the Emir of Bussa. *Kitoro I*

During the latter part of Kitoro's reign, soon after 1820, Borgu was involved in war with the Fulani. The country was invaded by the Fulani under the direction, some say, of the Emir of Gwandu. Twice they were heavily defeated, but finally they attacked and conquered Illo. The practical results of this *Borgu at war with the Fulani*

invasion are not clearly known, but it was probably responsible for the Borgawa sending a large army a few years later to assist the Alafin of Oyo against the Fulani of Ilorin. It was an effort on the part of the combined Borgawa and Yorubas to stem the increasing power of the Fulani in the south. This war, known as the Eleduwe war in Yoruba land, was the greatest in the history of Borgu, but it had an unhappy outcome, for the Yorubas were not united and discord reigned among the allies.

During the final assault upon Ilorin the King of Nikki was killed, as were the Alafin and many other chiefs. The war proved an unparalleled disaster to Nikki and Kaiama, from which they did not recover for years.

Etsu Baba defeated by the Fulani, (1882) In the reign of Dan Toro, Emir of Bussa, Etsu Baba was finally defeated by the Fulani at Leaba in Zugurma. Some Nupes were allowed by Bussa to settle and found Leaba in Bussa territory. These events happened about 1882.

European influence In the last decade of the century European influence began to make itself definitely felt in Borgu, and in 1894 Sir Frederick Lugard visited Kaiama and made treaties with the kings of Kaiama and Nikki. Shortly afterwards the French occupied part of the country, and in 1897 occupied Kaiama, but the British and French arrived at an agreement by which the French retired to Nikki and Illo. Much has happened since then, and the boundaries of Borgu have many times been changed.

Friendly relations with Bornu and Oyo The kings of Bussa for a long time maintained a connexion with Bornu, exchanging presents every year. In 1928 this practice was revived. Friendship is also maintained with Oyo, the people of Borgu coming every year to Oyo at Bere festival.

The River Niger, which was so magically enlarged at the time of Kisra's emigration, was never crossed again by the chiefs of Bussa until the year 1908, when Gani, who was then Sarkin Bussa, broke the spell by crossing the river in the water, supported on each side by a canoe.

3. *Lafiagi and Pategi*

Maliki and Manzuma found Lafiagi (c. 1810) It has already been related in the Nupe Section how Mallam Maliki and Manzuma, his brother, returned from the pursuit of Majia and went back to Nupe country, where they founded the town of Lafiagi (about 1810). Etsu Idirisu did not return to his

father's capital, but settled in Bida country, as did Majia his rival, who made a truce with the Fulani.

Mallam Maliki died at Lafiagi about 1824. His son Aliu was considered too young to succeed, and his uncle Manzuma was appointed in his place. Abdullahi, Emir of Gwandu, gave him his insignia, and he is reckoned as the first Emir of Lafiagi. Aliu left for Shonga, where he built the town and became the first Etsu of Shonga.

Etsu Idirisu chafed under the rule of the Fulani and assembled the Nupes against them. Lafiagi was attacked on four sides and the town was burnt, while the Emir Manzuma fled to Ilorin. Rabba also was threatened by strong forces, and Mallam Dendo appealed to the rival Etsu, Majia, to come to his help. At the sound of Majia's trumpets Idirisu fled. Peace was made between Majia and Mallam Dendo and cemented by marriages. Manzuma's authority was restored at Lafiagi.

*Lafiagi
burnt by
Etsu
Idirisu*

About 1832 Mallam Dendo died, and his son Moma Majigi, who succeeded him, came to an agreement with Manzuma, whereby the latter retained the country south of the Niger (roughly the Pategi-Lafiagi Division of to-day) while Majigi had control of the Nupe country north of the Niger, and Share country (now in Ilorin).

Manzuma died about 1833 or 1834, and Maliki's son Aliu, Etsu of Shonga, was appointed Emir of Lafiagi. Usuman Zaki, one of Mallam Dendo's sons, was now ruling north of the Niger at Rabba. His youngest brother Masaba, an important figure in Nupe history, rebelled against him as he thought he should have been made Yarima. After a fight at Rabba, Masaba was driven out and fled to Lafiagi. Emir Aliu refused to receive him, but after a while gave him permission to settle at Lade, in Pategi country. Masaba quickly became powerful and sent an embassy to the Emir of Gwandu saying that Aliu was not a fit ruler of Lafiagi, and that Abdulkadiri, son of the late Emir Manzuma, would make a better chief. Mallam Halilu, Emir of Gwandu, was convinced by Masaba's arguments, and deposed Aliu, who went back to Shonga, and Abdulkadiri reigned at Lafiagi.

Aliu

*Abdul-
kadiri
(1834-
1868)*

Usuman Zaki now wished to assume the title of Etsu Nupe on the death of the Etsu Majia, and this led to a second revolt of the Nupes. Masaba, whose mother was a Nupe, fostered this

rebellion against his brother and sent a contingent to help the Nupes who were besieging Rabba. He tried to persuade the Emir of Lafiagi to assist him, but Abdulkadiri refused, protesting against a fratricidal war among Fulani.

Rabba was besieged for a whole year, and the people were dying of starvation. The Emir of Lafiagi went to Ilorin to ask the Emir to assist to raise the siege, but they arrived too late to save the town and returned to Ilorin. Usuman Zaki fled to Agaie, and the Emirs of Ilorin and Lafiagi returned to Ilorin.

Mallam Halilu came with an army from Gwandu and summoned all the local Fulani chiefs. He deposed Usuman Zaki and set up Masaba in his place. The Emir of Lafiagi was retained at Lafiagi, but lost most of his territorial power, including the country now known as Pategi. Masaba did not go to his brother's capital of Rabba but returned to Lade, which was now his capital, and became the centre of a powerful state.

Masaba still nurtured a grudge against Abdulkadiri for his lack of support over the Rabba siege and on other occasions. He therefore arranged with Usuman, Yarima of Lafiagi and brother of the Emir, to conspire with the principal men of the town against Abdulkadiri, and at the critical moment he, Masaba, would arrive with an army and drive the Emir out, installing the Yarima in his place. The intrigue was entirely successful, but, having got rid of Abdulkadiri, Masaba broke his promise to the Yarima and recalled Aliu from Shonga, making him Emir of Lafiagi for the second time.

Aliu reinstated

Some time later, as is related in the Nupe Section, Masaba's Beri-Beri general, Umar, determined to revolt against his master, and for this purpose made common cause with the Etsu Maza and with Usuman, Yarima of Lafiagi, who had been deceived by Masaba about the Lafiagi succession. The combined forces marched on Lade, and Masaba fled southward, whither he was pursued by Yarima Usuman, while Umar stayed in Lade.

Usuman came upon Masaba separated from his followers, but spared his life, saying that he was satisfied to see his enemy humbled. He saw Masaba's wife standing by, and told her she must come with him and he would restore her to her father, the Emir of Ilorin, as her husband's days were numbered. She re-

fused, and struggled when he tried to drag her on to his horse. The girths broke, and Masaba sprang on Usuman and cut off his head, making his escape on his horse.

The leaderless army fled to Lade, and Umar left for Ezhigi, while the Lafiagi forces, now commanded by Ibrahim Halilu, brother of the Yarima Usuman, came to Lafiagi and put the adherents of Aliu to the sword. Aliu was sent to Umar and ultimately returned to Shonga, and Abdulkadiri was brought back from Ilorin (c. 1853).

Abdulkadiri brought back

Eventually Umar was defeated and slain by the united Fulani forces, under the leadership of Umaru Majigi, reinforced at his request by Usuman Zaki from Gwandu and the Waziri. Usuman Zaki was now installed as Emir of Bida by the Waziri of Gwandu, with Masaba as his Sarkin Fulani, while Abdulkadiri was confirmed as Emir of Lafiagi with his territory much as it is to-day. Usuman Zaki only reigned two years at Bida, and on his death was succeeded by Masaba (c. 1859).

The last fourteen years of Abdulkadiri's reign were untroubled by war, and he died about 1868-9. His brother, Ibrahim Halilu, followed as Emir of Lafiagi and reigned for fourteen uneventful years.

Ibrahim Halilu (1868-82)

Masaba had by this time become very powerful and had come into conflict with the Emirs of Agaie and Lapai in his continuous slave-raids. The Emir Almustaffa of Gwandu came to check his activities, and it was only by dint of a heavy bribe that Masaba prevented the Lade country (Pategi) being taken from him and given to the Emir of Lafiagi.

Masaba died the same year as Almustaffa's visit (c. 1873), and Umaru Majigi succeeded him as Emir of Bida. About 1882-3 Halilu, Emir of Lafiagi, died and was succeeded by his younger brother Aliu. There are two stories told of his succession, one being that owing to the Nupes being in insurrection in Bida country the Emir of Gwandu was unable to give Aliu his turban, and deputed the Emir Shitta of Ilorin to act for him. This story is disputed by the Lafiagi authorities, who say that Abdurrahimi, son of the Sarkin Lifidi of Gwandu, brought the turban, and they add that the Emir Shitta was already dead and that the troubles in Nupe did not break out till three months later.

Aliu (1882-91)

A discontented faction of the Nupes under Etsu Baba, son of

Sachi at Leaba, now rose against the Bida Fulani, and were defeated by Umaru Majigi; Etsu Baba was drowned during the retreat. The Nupes, however, reassembled on the south of the Niger under Nda Legbo, son of Majia, and Kolo Shaibu, son of Baba. They conquered Shonga and threatened to sack Lafiagi if the Emir Aliu did not throw in his lot with them. Aliu agreed, sending his brother Abdurrahimi and his nephews Amadu and Umaru to join the Nupe army.

They advanced to Egga, which they sacked, and Umaru was sent with half the army to attack Budon. Umaru Majigi's army now came on the scene, helped with arms and vessels by the Royal Niger Company, and with the Yarima Maliki in command. The Bida forces relieved Egga and came to Lafiagi, which they found deserted, the Emir and all his following having fled to Oke Ode. While at Lafiagi, Maliki heard of the death of Umaru Majigi at Bida, and he was installed as Emir of Bida in Lafiagi town. Maliki wished to put Lafiagi under Bida, but the Emir of Gwandu insisted on the return of the Emir Aliu, who came back from Oke Ode and made his peace with Maliki but never regained his lost power. He died in 1891 and was succeeded by Abdurrahimi, the last of Manzuma's sons. He in turn died after eighteen months and was followed by Amadu, son of Abdulkadiri, the second Emir.

Abdur-
rahimi
(1891-2)

Amadu
(1892-
1915)

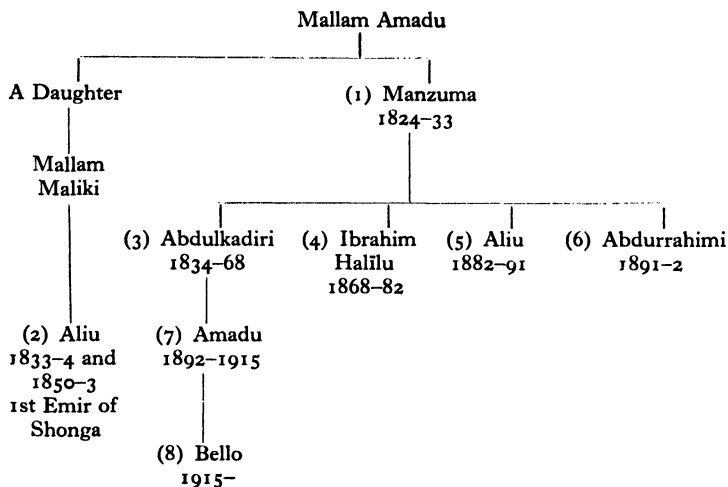
After the fall of Bida and Ilorin to the Niger Company's forces in 1897 the Nupes were in a state of unrest, as they considered that the Fulani power had been broken. They rose against the Emir of Lafiagi and burnt the Fulani quarter of the town. Amadu fled to Shonga, but was brought back and reinstated by Niger Company troops. As soon as they left he was driven out again, and once more the troops had to intervene. On this occasion two of the leaders of the rising, Ndeji and Nefenni, were sent to prison at Lokoja.

Bello
(1915-) In 1915 Amadu died, and his son Bello, the present Emir, was appointed. Shaibu the Kpotum, who had prior claim to succeed, had been passed over on account of his previous bad record, having been twice in prison for extortion. He collected a force of hunters from Lafiagi District and deposed Bello, proclaiming himself Emir in his place. The Resident and a force of police brought Bello from Oke Ode, whither he had fled, and

restored him to the throne, and Shaibu was deported to Katsina for six years.

During the attack on Bida in 1897 the Niger Company had the support of the Nupes against the Fulani. Idirisu Gana, who was Etsu of the Jimada Nupes, arranged that all the Nupe canoes should be concentrated at Pategi and there placed in charge of a gunboat. As a result, a large part of the Bida forces, which happened to be operating in Kabba country, was unable to get into touch with the town, and was isolated until after Bida had fallen. For this service Sir William Wallace brought Idirisu Gana to Pategi and installed him as independent Etsu. Idirisu died in 1900 and was succeeded by his son, Maazu Isa, who died in 1923. The present Etsu, Usuman, younger brother of Idirisu Gana, was then appointed.

THE EMIRS OF LAFIAGI



BAUCHI PROVINCE

1. *Bauchi*

Yakubu,
1st Emir
(1805-
45)

LITTLE is recorded of Bauchi history previous to the life of Yakubu, who subsequently became the first Emir of Bauchi. One gathers that the people by this time had become moderately civilized, and that Islam had begun to establish a hold in certain quarters.

Yakubu, strangely enough, was not a Fulani, but at an early age he had gone to Gobir and studied under Dan Fodio. He was born about 1765 at Tiruwin, near the present town of Bauchi, and was of Gerawa parentage.

On the outbreak of the jihad, Yakubu, who had by this time spent many years with Dan Fodio, was sent to rouse the clans in Bauchi. A considerable following attached itself to him, but not his own tribe, the Gerawa, and within a few years he had subdued the whole country within a wide radius, penetrating as far as the rivers Benue and Gongila, the Wurkum hills, Lafia Beri-Beri, and Leri. He also assisted the Emir of Kano against the Bornuese, and presently conquered Missau, which he handed over to his ally Mai-Munga. The Sarkin Musulmi then gave Mai-Munga permission to levy tax on the Fulani from Bornu, wherever they happened to be living at the time.

Founda-
tion of
Bauchi

For seven years Yakubu made his head-quarters at Inkil; in 1809 he moved a little westward and laid the foundations of the town of Bauchi, where, after an exceptionally wise and just reign, he lived in comparative peace until his death in 1845.¹

Ibrahim
(1845-
77)

He was succeeded by his son Ibrahim, during whose reign many of the tribes revolted and secured their independence. He eventually abdicated in favour of his son Usuman in the year 1877. He, however, had to appeal to Missau for assistance to drive out his uncle Halilu, who was aiming at the throne, and to the present day the results of this desperate conflict can be seen in Bauchi town, where whole quarters were ruined and the

Abdica-
tion in
favour of
Usuman
(1877-
83)

¹ For further details of Yakubu's exploits see Katagum, Gombe, and Missau sections.

population decimated. Halilu was killed, but not long afterwards Usuman was himself deposed by the Sarkin Musulmi on representations from Bauchi.

His cousin Umaru, who succeeded him in 1883, had a disastrous reign.¹ More tribes threw off his yoke; and, becoming embittered, he resorted to a tyrannical oppression, which, in 1900, culminated in a disgraceful massacre in the Muslim town of Gworam, which had refused to allow slaves to be levied from the Muslim population.

Umaru
(1883-
1900)

Massacre
in Gwo-
ram
(1900)

Before he had time to try the patience of his people much further, Mr. Wallace arrived at Bauchi with a military force, which was allowed to occupy the town without resistance. Umaru was promptly deposed and subsequently deported to Ilorin. His successor Muhammadu died in 1901, and Hassan, who succeeded him, reigned until his death in 1907, when the present Emir Yakubu, great-grandson of the original Yakubu, acceded.

Muham-
madu
(1900-1)

Hassan
(1901-7)

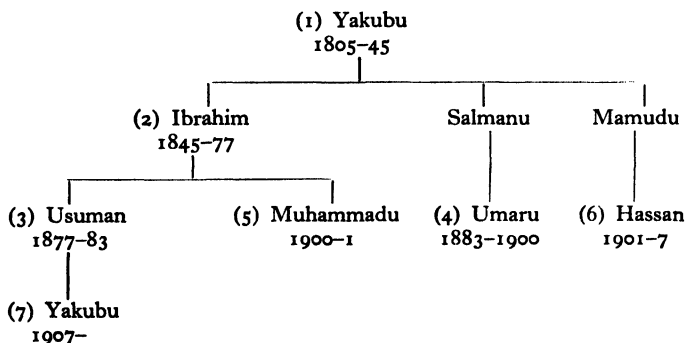
Emir
Yakubu
(1907-)

Religious
rising
(1906)

In 1906 there was an abortive attempt at a religious rising connected with that of Satiru in Sokoto.

It was almost certainly instigated by some fanatical organization. The ringleaders were arrested, and the chief agitator, an Arab named El Hadj Isiaku, was tried by the Emir and native court, and hanged forthwith. Since then there have been no signs of unrest in the Province.

THE EMIRS OF BAUCHI



¹ See Gombe section for the account of Mallam Jibrilla's rebellion.

2. Gombe

Buba Yero (1804-43) Buba Yero, the first Emir of Gombe, was of Fulani extraction. He was born about 1762 in a small hamlet near Shellem (lower Gongila), his father being a Kitije and his mother a Kanukuru (Ba Bole). He was left an orphan while still a child, as his parents died of small-pox. At an early age he started to go to Kukawa to study, but on the way there he was captured and kept as a slave at Potiskum for three years. On obtaining his liberty he went to Gobir to study under Usuman Dan Fodio. Local opinion is that he first went to study at Kukawa, as he had originally intended, where he became a Muslim and ultimately a mallam. On the way to Gobir he stopped at Katsina, where he met Yakubu of Bauchi and became friendly with him. Yakubu, who was an old friend of Dan Fodio, strongly recommended Buba Yero to him, whereupon the Shehu gave Buba Yero a flag and commissioned him to raise a jihad in Gombe. Buba Yero started for Old Gombe via Kano, at which place he married a wife named Hawa. Pushing past Old Gombe, he went to Ako, where he became the lifelong friend of the grandfather of the present Galadiman Ako. Buba Yero now persuaded the Ako Fulani to follow him, and began to subdue the country.¹

He first established himself in the Bole country around Old Gombe. There is a story that he built the walls of Gombe in the unbelievable time of seven days and seven nights.² He overran the country systematically, even crossing the Benue to the south. Being by some accounts of Bole blood himself, he refused to let his followers exterminate the Bolewa, and even offended his men by making the Sarkin Duku, a Ba Bole, one of his chief advisers. He made Ribadu his base of operations for some sixteen years.

Gombe town moved to Nafada, and thence to Doma Gombe town was later moved to Nafada as being more accessible from Kano. Eventually a move was made from Nafada to Doma, the present site. The latter move is comparatively recent, and was carried out in order to facilitate trade. Though Gombe

¹ According to Mr. Molyneux, Buba Yero had merely received orders from the Shehu to return to Gombe and await instructions. When he started his campaign without orders he was recalled to Sokoto, but made his peace with the Shehu, and only then received his flag.

² The Gazetteer gives c. 1824.

as it now stands is conveniently on the Bauchi-Yola road, yet another move may be necessitated owing to the scarcity of water.

A story is told of how a Bole clan was induced to move from its impregnable position on the top of a high hill near Gombe. A message was sent by Buba Yero to say that he had built the walls of Gombe in seven days and likewise could remove their hill. One morning the Fulani gathered round the hill and at a concerted cry of '*Hoku, Hoku*' ('lay hold'), they began to remove the big stones as fast as they could. Legend goes on to say that the Bolewa at once vacated their hill top. To the east of the Gongila Buba Yero subdued the country as far as Adamawa and then turned his attention to the north. It is said that he joined Missau in capturing Birnin Bornu.¹ Certainly Missau was always on very friendly terms with Gombe.

Yakubu, Sarkin Bauchi, refused to allow any expansion west of the Gongila, and repulsed Buba Yero at Beri-Beri. Although Buba Yero objected when Yakubu took Darazo and Lago, saying that they belonged to him, he eventually had to agree.

To the south the Muri Fulani became subject to Buba Yero, but dissensions having arisen between them, which culminated in the killing by Buba Yero of the Muri leader Haruna, the Muri Fulani broke away and followed Sokoto direct.

There was a civil war between the Fulani of Gombe and Duku, which is said to have lasted two years and to have been brought to a conclusion by the Sarkin Musulmi, through the intervention of Yakubu, Sarkin Bauchi.

Buba Yero died in 1843 and was followed, first by his son Sule, who only reigned three years, and then by another son, Koiranga, who reigned from 1846 to 1881. His long reign was comparatively peaceful and unmarked by any outstanding event.

Koiranga was succeeded by each of his four sons in turn. The first was Zailani (1881-8), and in his reign the celebrated Mallam Jibrilla began his revolt. This man had come from Katagum and obtained leave from the Emir to settle on a farm near Burmi. Here he began a systematic attempt to win over the natives by practising on them a number of so-called miracles which were in reality nothing but ingenious tricks and leger-

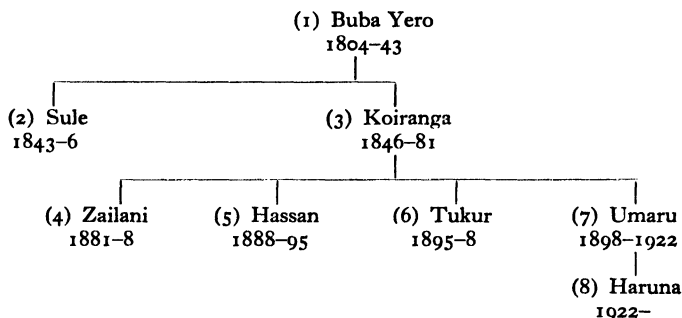
Sule
(1843-6)
Koiranga
(1846-81)
Zailani
(1881-8)
Jibrilla's
revolt

¹ Missau notes say that it was at Kabella that the Bornu forces were defeated.

demain. When his following had reached the desired proportions he proclaimed his revolt. Zailani gathered his army at Ribadu and attacked Burmi, but being deserted by most of his followers he was mortally wounded and died at Magaba (1888). Hassan succeeded his brother Zailani. With the assistance of contingents from Bauchi, Katagum, Hadejia, and Missau he tried to subdue Mallam Jibrilla, but after besieging Bajoga without success he retired discomfited. Hassan was succeeded in 1895 by Tukur, who reigned for three years.

He was followed by Umaru, who ruled for twenty-four years. His reign could hardly have opened less auspiciously. Mallam Jibrilla was an active menace; at one time he allied himself with Rabeh the usurper of Bornu. Bubawa, Galadiman Ako, turned on his old friend Sarkin Gombe, and persuaded Manga, Sarkin

THE EMIRS OF GOMBE



Missau, to join him. Umaru managed to patch up his quarrel with the Galadiman Ako on the death of Manga, but it was not until the British arrived on the scene that Mallam Jibrilla could be shaken.

Defeat and death of Jibrilla In March 1902 a British force under Colonel Morland occupied Bauchi, and soon afterwards defeated Jibrilla near Tongo. It was not long before he was captured and sent to Lokoja, where he died. Umaru accompanied the British force and was formally recognized as Emir of Gombe.

Defeat of the remaining rebels The following year the fugitive Sarkin Musulmi Attahiru, with the ex-Emirs of Bida and Missau, the Magajin Keffi, and many other notabilities who knew that retribution was at hand, made a desperate stand in Burmi, where they collected the

remains of Jibrilla's followers. They repulsed the first attack successfully, but in July 1903 a column under Major Marsh completely defeated the rebels. Major Marsh himself was killed by a poisoned arrow. Among the six or seven hundred killed in the rebel army were Attahiru and the Magajin Keffi; all the remaining chiefs, save Amadu of Missau, were captured, including Bubawa, Galadiman Ako.

The present Emir Haruna succeeded Umaru in 1922.

3. *Missau*

The earliest known chief of the Bornu Fulani was Akibu, and after him there were five chiefs in direct succession. These were Akibu II, Ardo Sulaiman, Yaro Fate, Sambo, Mallam Abubakar, and Gwani Muhtar.

Gwani Muhtar was sent to Wurobakki to study under Mallam Lawal. He showed such diligence and good behaviour towards his teacher that Mallam Lawal gave him his daughter in marriage, and when Mallam Lawal died all his students and people accepted him as their leader.

When Gwani Muhtar heard of Shehu dan Fodio at Sifawa he paid homage to him, refusing allegiance to Maina Dunama, the Emir of Bornu, on the ground that the people of Bornu were not true Muslims. Then he proceeded to attack the non-Muslim towns in his country. When Maina Dunama heard this, he sent his Madaki to Gujiba against Gwani Muhtar, but the Madaki was defeated and Gwani Muhtar thereupon became a powerful chief, conquering all the neighbouring pagan districts, and finally proceeding eastwards without strong opposition until he reached Birnin N'gazargamu, the capital of Bornu. Here Maina Dunama made a stand, and the fighting went on for seven days. On the eighth day Dunama fled to Kabela.

Gwani Muhtar sent many of the spoils to Shehu dan Fodio, and stayed at N'gazargamu for seven months, when he was ordered by Dan Fodio to return. During his journey back Maina Dunama followed him and killed him.

Gwani Muhtar's eldest son Mamman sent to Shehu dan Fodio and informed him of what had taken place. The Shehu sent Mamman a flag as head of the Bornu Fulani.

*Akibu
and five
succeed-
ing
chiefs*

*Gwani
Muhtar
(1806-8)*

*Mamman
Manga
(1808-33)*

Mamman lived at Gujiba for five years and then founded his own town, Damaturu, a little to the north. From Damaturu he emigrated to Guber, but was driven out by the Shehu Laminu to Bauchi country. Yakubu of Bauchi gave the fugitives land, and, as he was then starting on a visit to Sokoto, Mamman Manga accompanied him, and his case was laid before the Shehu. The Shehu ordered Yakubu to give Missau to Mamman.

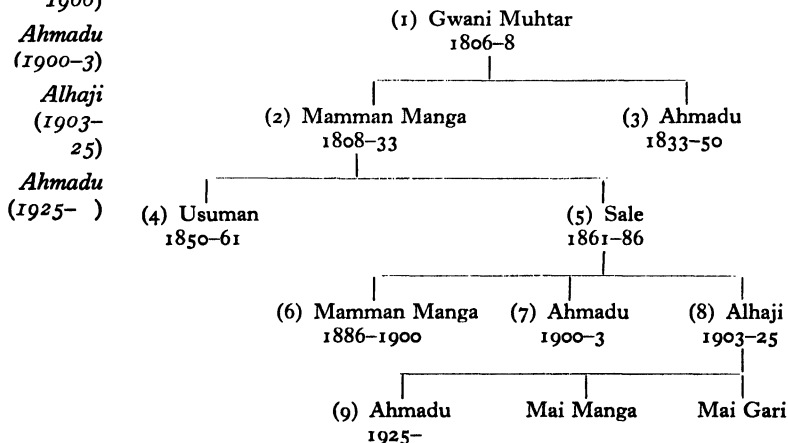
Ahmadu (1833-50) Mamman Manga lived at Missau for two years before he died, and his eldest son Ahmadu succeeded him. During the latter's long reign the town wall was built.

Usuman (1850-61) On Ahmadu's death, Aliu Babba, the then Emir of Sokoto, appointed Usuman, Ahmadu's brother. Usuman reigned twelve years and was succeeded by his son Yarima Sale, who ruled for

Sale (1861-86) seventeen years. Sale's son Manga ruled for fourteen years and was followed by his brother Ahmadu.

Mamman Manga (1886-1900) Ahmadu was deposed after the British Occupation of Northern Nigeria, and Alhaji his brother was installed. Alhaji was succeeded in 1925 by his eldest son Ahmadu.

THE EMIRS OF MISSAU



4. Katagum

Mallam Zaki (1807-14) The two outstanding figures in Katagum in the religious wars which owed their inspiration to Usuman dan Fodio were Mallam Zaki and Dan Kauwa his nephew. The former's full name was

Ibrahim Zakiyu'l Kabbi and he was a native of Yaiyu, his mother being a daughter of the Chief of Yaiyu (title Bauchi). His father was by birth a native of Baghermi.

Mallam Zaki at the beginning of the wars was driven out of Yaiyu by the Bauchi (c. 1805 or 1806), but collecting a following made successful attacks on Udubo and Gamawa, and finally joined Dan Audure Umaru, who had received a flag about 1805 and was then besieging Auyo. After the fall of Auyo, Mallam Zaki stayed there for a time until he heard that Shira had been captured (1807) by Mallam Bakatsine and Barden Kano Bagel. He hurried off south and persuaded them to hand the town over to himself, and installed his nephew Dan Kauwa as chief. Mallam Zaki then returned north, and probably then captured Teshena. The site, however, did not satisfy him, and he started work on the present town of Katagum, using labour from Teshena for the purpose.

In 1810 Usuman dan Fodio ordered a second attack to be made on Bornu, presumably to re-establish the prestige lost when Gwani Muhtar was killed in 1808. This attack was primarily made with Katagum and Hadejia forces under the command of Mallam Zaki. The expedition defeated Mai Ahamadu of Bornu and captured N'gazargamu, but at once retired westward under orders, it is stated, from Usuman dan Fodio. Mallam Zaki returned to Katagum, where he stayed until his death in 1814. By that time he was in control of most of the old kingdom of Shira (except the westerly section, which was under Kano, and the southerly portion—Missau—which retained its independence), and in addition held the much smaller kingdom of Teshena. The main subordinate offices, such as Azare, Chinade, and Udubo, were put in charge of his sons.

Mallam Zaki was succeeded by Liman Adandaya, his brother, who only ruled for two years, during which time his title was twice usurped. The first occasion was due to interference from Hadejia, which took advantage of an obvious state of weakness, and this was stopped by the Sarkin Musulmi. The second was a more serious matter, and was in effect a successful Habe revolt which only came to an end with the assassination of Tushum, the Habe leader, who held Katagum for some months. Owing to his obvious unsuitability Adandaya was deposed in 1816.

*Attack
on
Bornu*

*Liman
Adan-
daya
(1814-
16)*

Dan Kauwa
(1816-46) He was succeeded by Dan Kauwa, one of the two original leaders. His reign was disturbed by considerable trouble with the conquered Habe, who were encouraged by the active offensive policy at this time being pursued by Bornu under the vigorous Kanemi guidance. This culminated in the expedition of Shehu Limanu about 1826, whose members were received with open arms as deliverers by the Shirawa, and for a short time Azangu, the son of the last Habe king, was restored in Shira. The Fulani chief retired precipitately before the Bornu advance and Katagum itself was evacuated. Dan Kauwa retired to Hadufia, a very strong position near the junction of the Kiawa and Katagum rivers. The defeat of Shehu Limanu at Fake by Yakubu of Bauchi, however, led to a complete reversal of things, and Dan Kauwa joined Yakubu in recapturing Shira and re-installed Abdurrahman, Dan Kauwa's son, as chief. Abdurrahman, to mark the end of the Habe rule, abandoned the town east of Shira hill and built a new one (the present town) in the centre of the hills, which he called Dar es Salaam. Dan Kauwa from Shira went on westwards, and on the wave of Fulani ascendancy captured Jalam.

Later (c. 1828) he and Yakubu again combined and captured Missau, which was the last Habe stronghold. Subsequently a dispute arising between them as to who should hold Missau was settled (c. 1830) by the Sarkin Musulmi giving it to Mamman Manga as a reward for the services of his family in Bornu. Dan Kauwa died in 1846.

Abdurrahman
(1846-51) The fourth Emir, Abdurrahman, second son of Mallam Zaki, was previously Sarkin Shira, this being recognized as the most important subordinate office in the Emirate. In fact in some respects it almost formed a separate unit.

Abdurrahman opened his reign by attacks on towns on the western border of Bornu. These expeditions, however, were overshadowed by events in Hadejia which directly affected Katagum. Ahmadu, Emir of Hadejia, had been driven out by Buhari his brother, and the Sarkin Musulmi, Aliu Babba, ordered Katagum to help to restore him, which was done without much serious fighting. Shortly afterwards Abdurrahman died, having only ruled for five years.

On his death the title returned to the house of Dan Kauwa,

where it has remained ever since. Abdurrahman was succeeded by Abdulkadiri, the eldest son of Dan Kauwa. His first war was with Buhari, who had had Ahmadu assassinated and had made himself Sarkin Hadejia. Abdulkadiri was a member of the expedition under the Waziri of Sokoto which was sent to deal with Buhari, and which was totally defeated in the campaign known as the Yakin Kaffur. Thereafter Buhari began his career of raiding and destruction in revenge for the Sarkin Musulmi's refusal to recognize him as Emir. In this Katagum suffered severely.¹

Abdulkadiri I *
(1851-68)

In 1868 Abdulkadiri was succeeded by his brother Haji, Sarkin Shira. He carried out the usual attacks on towns on the Bornu boundary and also on the Kari Karis.

Haji
(1868-96)

About 1883, however, while on his way to Sokoto, he heard that the Ningawa were approaching, and with an inadequate force met them at Tumfafi (east of Shira) and was defeated with loss, but managed to escape to Zadawa. The following year he took part in a combined attack on Ningi with Haruna, Emir of Hadejia, and Muhamma Sambo, Emir of Jamaari, which was moderately successful, although the allied forces retired rapidly before Haruna with some loss.

War with Ningi
(1883)

This was followed by a Mahdist outbreak at Dutsi (Kano) under Liman Ya Musa. This man collected a large following and set out eastwards on the pilgrimage in defiance of Sokoto. He was, however, stopped at Gwadayi by the presence of a large combined force from Katagum under Sarkin Shira Abdulkadiri (Haji himself had gone to Sokoto) and the Emirs of Hadejia, Missau, and Jamaari. Liman Ya Musa surrendered himself without fighting, and his large following at once dispersed. He was taken to Sokoto but was treated well, though his property was divided up by his captors.

Mahdist outbreak at Dutsi

The second appearance of Mahdism occurred about 1888. In the previous year Katagum, Missau, and Jamaari had made an attack on the Kari Karis with one Mallam Jibrilla (or Gaini), who was a native of Katagum but who seems to have begun to set up on his own in the Kari Kari country, where his presence was not regarded favourably by Missau. After this war Mallam Jibrilla moved to Nafada, being forced to do so by pressure from the local Emirs, who thought he was becoming too powerful.

Second Mahdist outbreak
(1888)

¹ See Hadejia section.

He shortly extended his power over most of Gombe, and successfully defied an attack by Missau and Gombe on Burmi, where he had established himself. He was sufficiently important at the time of Rabeh to be accepted by the latter as his ally, and he also had relations with Mallam Hayatu.

He was defeated and captured by Colonel Morland in 1902. Haji also took part in several expeditions organized by the Sarkin Musulmi, including the Madarumfa war and attacks on Gobir and Maradi. Haji died in 1896.

*Abdul-
kadiiri II*
(1896-
1905)

He was succeeded by his son Abdulkadiri II, who held the appointment at the time of the British Occupation. His first years, however, were full of disturbances, arising from the advance of Rabeh. The latter was to a considerable extent dependent on Kano and the west for his supplies of powder, and the Sarkin Musulmi accordingly ordered that such trade with Bornu must be stopped. Katagum, however, being in an extremely exposed position and also seeing possibilities of considerable profit, did not obey fully. Sarkin Haji had moved the main market from Katagum to Gamawa so as partly to shift his responsibility. This move resulted in large tolls being collected at Gamawa, and finally Sambo Sarkin Gamawa, who was being largely enriched by this, refused to obey an order from Abdulkadiri the Emir to arrest the Kano traders, and went into revolt, but without fighting occurring. Meanwhile, Muhammadu Sarkin Sokwa, eldest son of Abdulkadiri, had caused general bad feeling owing to his oppressive methods, which came to a head when he looted Zubuki (Gadau) on his way back from an attack on Ningi.

The four senior subordinate chiefs, the Yarima, Sarkin Shira, Sarkin Azare, and Sarkin Udubo, complained to the Sarkin Musulmi, who ordered Abdulkadiri to come to Sokoto. The latter, however, only sent his representatives and refused to go in person. As a result the Sarkin Musulmi ordered the Katagum chiefs to follow the Yarima and ignore Abdulkadiri, and the Emir of Hadejia was to support them in this.

Sarkin Gamawa, seeing this, sided with Yarima, but before active operations could be taken Muhammadu Sarkin Sokwa attacked and defeated him while the Yarima was still on his way north. Sarkin Gamawa withdrew, but the Katagum forces had

to return home at once because it was stated that the Emir of Hadejia was advancing to help Gamawa. It is said that he intended to, but was dissuaded and tried unsuccessfully to reconcile Katagum and Gamawa instead. He sent help later, however, to Gamawa, as did the other Katagum chiefs of the Yarima's party. This did not prevent Sarkin Gamawa suffering a severe defeat in which he was killed, and Gamawa again was brought under Katagum (1900).

Prior to that, the Emir of Hadejia threatened to put in by force Sambo's son as Sarkin Gamawa (this son had gone to Bagam, then held by Hadejia, and had been very well received), but before this was attempted the Sarkin Musulmi pardoned Abdulkadiri, being assisted towards this, it is alleged, by gifts from the loot taken at Gamawa. The other Katagum chiefs were reconciled, but the distrust between the ruling family and the Yarima lasted until the latter's death in 1925. There was also considerable ill feeling against Hadejia for a time. Before the British Occupation the only event of importance was a threatened war with Missau over Isawa (a Bornu Fulani town in Katagum but under Missau), but this was averted.

The first sign of the British Occupation was the arrival in 1902 of a column from Bornu which, however, only came as far as Yaiyu and returned. The next year Captain Sword's column in pursuit of Attahiru Sarkin Musulmi passed through to Missau. The only chief of importance who actually joined the Sarkin Musulmi was Usuman Sarkin Shira. Others, however, including Muhammadu (then Sarkin Azare), the conqueror of Gamawa, were preparing to do so. *British Occupation*

The flight of the Sarkin Musulmi and his defeat not long after at Burmi stopped any further ideas of opposition. Following the capture of Kano, Katagum acknowledged the British Occupation, and on the 23rd of December the Katagum Province was formed.

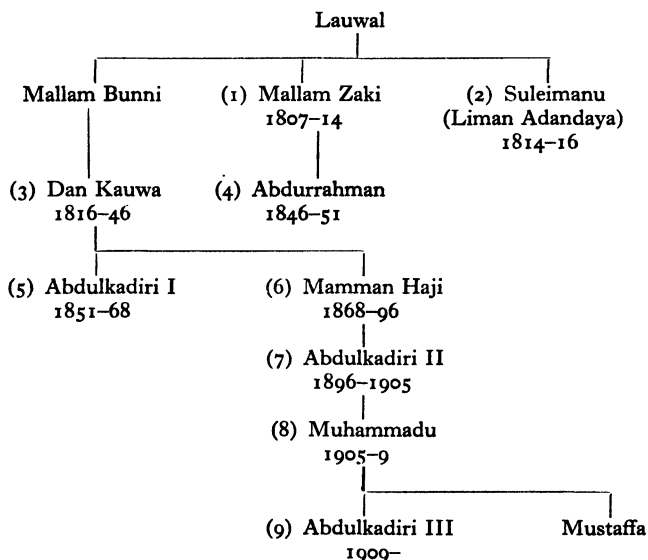
Abdulkadiri died in May 1905, and was succeeded by his son Muhammadu, who had made his reputation at the capture of Gamawa. The most important event during his reign was the Hadejia Expedition in 1906, which was caused by the unsatisfactory attitude of the Emir of Hadejia and his followers. Muhammadu died in 1909. *Muhammadu (1905-9)*

Abdulkadiri III
(1909-)

The 'flag incident'

His death caused considerable difficulties as regards the succession, one party supporting his son Abdulkadiri, and another his brother Mustaffa. The former, who is the present Emir, was appointed, and this led to the 'flag incident'. Mustaffa, looking round for some method of getting Abdulkadiri into disfavour, arranged for the theft of the flag from the house of Major Fremantle, then Resident in charge of the Division. A search was started as soon as the loss was discovered, but failed to produce the flag, which was subsequently found beside the Katagum River, having been smuggled out of the town. The persons concerned were eventually traced and arrested and Mustaffa was deposed from his *sarauta* of Azare. Certain minor territorial adjustments have been made for administrative reasons, but except for the transfer of Hardawa to Missau in 1913 the present Emirate of Katagum is very nearly the same as in the time of Mallam Zaki.

THE EMIRS OF KATAGUM



5. *Jamaari*

Origin Like Missau at the outbreak of the religious war, the people of Jamaari were in Bornu, their chief town being Dilara near Lake Chad. When Usman dan Fodio started his campaigns,

Muhammadu Wabi, the son of Ardo Sale the then chief, joined the side of Usuman dan Fodio and probably took part with Gwani Muhtar in the capture of N'gazargamu (Birnin Bornu) in 1808. It is alleged that Gwani Muhtar offered Muhammadu Wabi the *sarauta* of Madaikin Bornu, but the latter refused to join Gwani Muhtar permanently, and in consequence was not directly involved in his subsequent defeat. Muhammadu Wabi is stated to have received a flag from Usuman dan Fodio about 1811 while the latter was still at Sifawa.¹ The re-establishment of the Bornu power with Kanem support drove the Fulani steadily westwards. In the course of this movement Muhammadu Wabi, who was then at Dawasa, was killed in an attack on the Kwoia-mawa of Gujim about 1824.

*Muham-
madu
Wabi* *
(1811-
24)

He was succeeded by his brother Sambolei, who continued westward until he reached a point a little north of the present town of Jamaari. There they received the full force of Shehu Laminu's attack in 1826 in which many were captured and taken to Shira, but subsequently released on its recapture by Sarkin Bauchi Yakubu and Sarkin Katagum dan Kauwa. After this the site of the town was moved west of the present town, but was still without a wall. Sambolei took part in several raids into Bornu, the largest being about 1834, when with the Sarkin Hadejia and the Sarkin Missau an attack was made on the border *Katchellawa*,² established by Bornu for frontier defence, in which the latter were defeated with considerable loss.

Sambolei
(1824-
54)

Sambolei's outstanding exploit, however, was in the Yakin Gawaku about 1835, in support of the Sarkin Musulmi, when he killed Rauda, the King of Katsina. For this the Sarkin Musulmi gave him all the country half a day's ride from Jamaari in every direction. Jamaari, however, had again to be evacuated about 1851 as a result of the Buhari wars, and the people went to Tumfafi in Shira for six years. Sambolei died in 1854 while on a raid to Bornu with Katagum and Missau. Jamaari was much too small to carry on wars on its own and was always the ally of some stronger Emirate. It is, however, claimed that its smallness was made up for by military skill, particularly when led by Sambolei.

¹ The evidence regarding this is not very conclusive, and possibly no flag was given until Sambolei received his about 1830.

² Chiefs of slaves.

Muham-
madu
Maude
(1854-
62) Sambolei was succeeded by his son Muhammadu Maude, who returned to Jamaari and started to build a walled town on the present site. Before this, however, he had taken part in the successful attack by Missau and Bauchi on Wase and the Munshis. Buhari's capture of Teshena about 1861 and subsequent raids again caused Jamaari to be evacuated; the population retired to Bana Kadai in Shira, and it was seriously considered whether they should go to Adamawa and rejoin the portion of their group who had gone there from Bornu in the days of the religious wars. Muhammadu Maude died at Bana Kadai in 1862.

Muham-
madu
Sambo
(1864-
86) He was succeeded by Muhammadu Sambo, a son of Muhammadu Wabi. During his reign the Ningawa were in the ascendant under Sarkin Ningi Haruna. Several raids were made by them, and in revenge Muhammadu Sambo joined Katagum and Hadejia in the rather profitless attack on Ningi about 1884 and gained a few local successes, but retired with Haruna in pursuit. Muhammadu Sambo also took part in the expedition to Biu with Sarkin Missau Sale in 1882, and was present at the capture of Liman Ya Musa at Gwadayi. He died in 1886 after reigning for twenty-four years.

Muham-
madu
Wabi II
(1885-
1918) He was succeeded by his son Muhammadu Wabi II, who held the *sarauta* until his death in 1918. About 1887 he went to the Kari Kari country in the expedition in which Mallam Gaini (or Jibrilla) took part. The latter at that time had not given evidence of Mahdist tendencies, but commenced his operations in Gombe shortly afterwards. Jamaari joined Sarkin Kano Aliu in the attacks on the Ningawa, and Muhammadu Wabi in these sent his son Muhammadu,¹ who also represented him in the unsuccessful attacks on Mallam Gaini after he had established himself at Bima. Jamaari took a more prominent part in the attack on Gwaram in 1900 by Missau and Bauchi, being personally interested because Muhammadu Wabi's daughter was married to Sarkin Gwaram. Jamaari was not much affected by Rabeh's presence. Trading relations existed, and the Jamaari representative only just escaped with his life when Fadi Allah was defeated by the French. In a way, like other border Emirates, Jamaari benefited by Rabeh's presence, as a considerable number of persons escaped from Bornu with

¹ Emir from 1918 to 1928.

property of which the Fulani Emirs took toll. Muhammadu Wabi recognized the British Occupation in 1903 after the capture of Kano. Jamaari, like the other Emirates in the Division, for a few years after the British Occupation was made subordinate to Katagum, but was restored to its former position in 1907. Muhammadu Wabi died in 1918. Part of his influence was due to his relationship by marriage to Kano, Katagum, and Missau, which gave him considerable weight, although not enough to save Sarkin Gwaram from being executed.

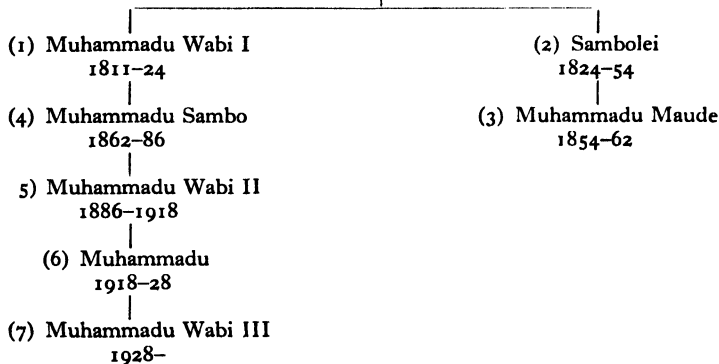
He was succeeded by his son Muhammadu, who ruled for ten years, and was succeeded in his turn by his son Muhammadu Wabi III in 1928.

*Muham-
madu
(1918-
28)*

*Muham-
madu
Wabi III
(1928-)*

THE EMIRS OF JAMAARI

Ardo Sale



ADAMAWA PROVINCE

Yola

Adam-awa prior to Anglo-German Occupation THE territory passing under the above name was, before the Anglo-German Occupation of it, considerably larger than the area on the map of Nigeria represented by 'Adamawa' (late Yola) Province. At its widest extent, in addition to the present Emirate, a large part of the mandated territories came under the rule of the Lamido of Adamawa, as far as Marua in the north, Ngaundero in the south, and Buba Rei in the east. In this area a few pagan tribes protected by mountains maintained their independence.

Origin of Fulani race Little is known about the origin of the Fulani race except that they were a pastoral people possibly of Semitic origin.¹ The date of the original entry of the Fulani into the area subsequently called Adamawa is not known, but it is almost certain that one branch of the cattle-Fulani (Bororo'en) was established there by the early eighteenth century (possibly by a much earlier date), and that they came into the territory from the north and northwest, finding it occupied by numerous pagan tribes in various stages of civilization.

Barth found an organized Fulani state superimposed on the indigenous pagans, with district towns mainly filled with members of the higher families occupying administrative positions and their retainers. These families were by this date (1851) divorced from the nomadic life, and lived mainly on the produce of slave-cultivated farms.

This change had been brought about by the Fulani rise to power during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Hausa States contrasted with Adam-awa Before going into further detail, it should be noticed that the large middle class of traders and artisans in the Hausa States had no counterpart, it appears, in old Adamawa.

In the Hausa States the conquered absorbed the conquerors—so much so that Fulfulde almost everywhere has given place to Hausa, and the distinguishing racial characteristics of the

¹ See p. 58.

Fulani are more or less merged in those of the Hausa. Inter-marriage and concubinage with pagans has tainted the Fulani blood even in Adamawa, though probably to a less extent, but there has been no comparable social amalgamation. The Boro'en have, as elsewhere, retained their traditional exclusiveness, but, in Adamawa, Fulfulde is the *lingua franca*, and is likely to remain so, at any rate for a considerable number of years.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century Modibbo Adama was born in the Verre Hills, probably near Gurin. It is said that in his youth he attended the school of a certain Mallam Kiari in Bornu, whose reputation attracted students from afar. His education completed, Modibbo Adama returned to Adamawa and settled at Weltunde, where he heard of the jihad proclaimed by Usuman dan Fodio. In 1806 or thereabouts Modibbo Adama travelled to Sokoto to offer his allegiance to the reformer. He was given a flag and told to start a jihad in the territory which was destined subsequently to be called after him — 'Adamawa'. From Sokoto he returned to the Benue valley with a mere handful of followers; these, however, made up for their lack of numbers by religious zeal. Probably they also realized that a powerful weapon lay ready to their hands in the shape of their numerous compatriots who had 'peacefully penetrated' the area.

Modibbo Adama started his jihad from Gurin in 1809, but twenty-nine years later transferred his head-quarters to Ribadu. In the following year he moved to Joboliwo, and founded Yola (so called from its position on a raised piece of ground), for much of the year a most unhealthy site, but commanding the passage of the River Benue. This he did in 1841, thirty-two years after he first raised his flag at Gurin. He died in 1848.

Four of his children succeeded him and continued his career of conquest over the local pagan tribes. Some of these tribes managed to retain varying degrees of independence. His eldest son, Lauwal, ruled from 1848 to 1872, and Lauwal's younger brother Sanda from 1872 to 1890. The next brother Zubairu followed Sanda and opposed by force the British Occupation in 1901. When the British captured Yola, Zubairu fled with a few devoted followers, and after eight months of wandering as a fugitive with his small party was killed by the Lala pagans in 1902-3.

*Modibbo
Adama
(1809-
48)*

*The
Jihad*

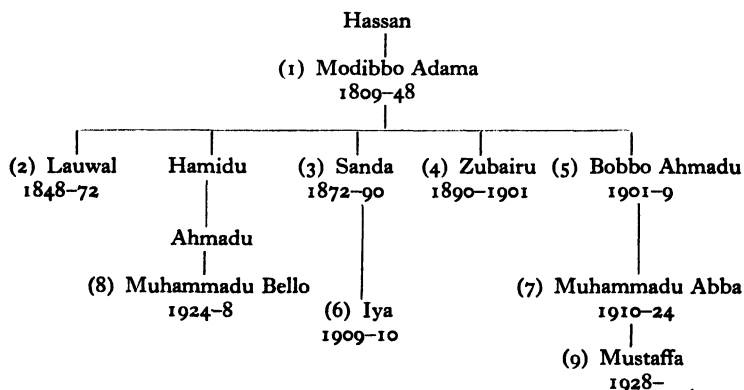
*Lauwal
(1848-
72)*

*Sanda
(1872-
90)*

*Zubairu
(1890-
1901)*

Ahmadu A fourth brother Ahmadu reigned from 1901 to 1909, when
(1901-9) he was deposed. He was succeeded by Iya, the son of the third
Iya Emir, Sanda, who was also deposed after a brief rule of thirteen
(1909-10) months. He was followed by Muhammadu Abba, son of
Muham- Ahmadu, the fifth Emir, who reigned from 1910 to his death
madu in 1924. In 1924 Muhammadu Bello Lauwal (nicknamed Mai-
Abba gari), formerly District Head of Nasarawa in the Mandated
(1910-24) Territory, was appointed Emir. The two last-named played
Muham- important parts in the British and German interests respectively
madu during the recent war. Muhammadu Lauwal died in 1928, and
Bello has been succeeded by Mustaffa, son of Muhammadu Abba.
Lauwal The districts near the capital enjoyed a considerable measure
(1924-8) of peace and prosperity before the British Occupation. The
Mustaffa history of the outlying districts, which had to protect the Emirate
(1928-) from strong and numerically superior hostile pagan tribes
 as well as supply slaves, was very different. It should be noted
 that the towns in the districts are almost invariably unwallled.
 Strong and vigorous District Heads were appointed to these out-
 lying districts, and they were compelled to retain a fairly large
 armed force. Though acknowledging the central authority, they
 attained in many cases an almost absolute local power, and the
 state of affairs was such as in the highest degree to call upon the
 warlike propensities and administrative abilities which form one
 of the strongest characteristics of the Fulani race.

THE EMIRS OF YOLA



THE SHEHUS OF BORNU

THE fateful nineteenth century opened inauspiciously enough for Bornu with a severe pestilence. Almost at once came the news of the Fulani rising in the west, initiated by Usuman dan Fodio in Gobir, a movement which forthwith challenged the long-standing suzerainty of Bornu over the Hausa kingdoms.

*The
Fulani
rising*

About 1808 the Fulani in Bornu collected in Gujba; from here they marched against the capital, N'gazargamu, defeated Mai Ahmed ben Ali, and sacked the town.

The Fulani attack on Bornu was caused by the fact that Mai Ahmed sent the Galadima and the Kaigarmma to the assistance of the Emir of Kano and Dama. This provoked two attacks, one from the west which drove the Galadima out of Nguru, and this left the road open for the other attack which was made on N'gazargamu from the south. The latter was organized by Buba Yero and Mallam Zaki from Gombe.

In Mamman Bello's account we find Abduwa in the west, Buba Yero (later Sarkin Gombe) in the south, and Ardo Lerlima at Marrua. The latter was defeated by Mai Ahmed, but Abduwa routed the Bornuese and killed the Waziri and many chiefs. On the death of Abduwa, Buba Yero, Gwani Muhtar, and Mallam Buhari became the leaders, and when Buba Yero went to Gombe his place was taken by Mallam Zaki, who after several successful campaigns in Bornu founded the town and Emirate of Katagum with the title of Sarkin Bornu. On the death of Mallam Buhari, Gwani Muhtar took his place as commander and drove the Mai out of Bornu to Kanem. Gwani Muhtar lived in his capital until he was driven out by Al Kanemi.¹

*Founda-
tion of
Katagum*

Mai Ahmed fled to Kurnawa, and called to his assistance a powerful chief named Muhammad El Amin El Kanemi, commonly known as Shehu Laminu. This man had already travelled extensively. He had accompanied his father on the pilgrimage,

*Muham-
mad El
Amin El
Kanemi
(died*

¹ Barth says that the Fulani were led by Mala Rida, Muhtar, and Hannima.

1835)

stayed five years in Medina, five in Cairo, and three in Fez. He returned to Bornu via Asben, Murzuk, and Borku, and brought with him books and mallams. His reputation for learning and piety was great.

He was successful in his role of saviour and drove the Fulani out of the capital. Hardly, however, had he reinstated Ahmed when the latter died. His successor, Dunama ben Ahmed, was also driven out of his capital by the Fulani, and he too had to seek the protection of El Kanemi.

The Shehu El Kanemi was reluctant to make himself Chief of Bornu, and preferred to retain the old Sef dynasty as puppet kings. But after defeating the Fulani and Baghermi (the latter after a long struggle) and saving the fortunes of Bornu, he found it increasingly difficult to keep himself in the background. In 1814 he had built himself a residence at Kukawa (so named after the trees there) as his head-quarters, and this eventually became the capital of Bornu when the Magumis were finally overthrown in 1846. The titular Mai resided close to his 'Kingmaker', generally in Mongonu.

About 1826 El Kanemi made some attempt to re-establish the suzerainty of Bornu over the Hausa States, and penetrated far into the province of Bauchi. He was severely defeated, however, by the Sokoto adherents and barely escaped with his life, thus finally resigning the old vassals of Bornu to their new liege-lord the Sarkin Musulmi.

El Kanemi died in 1835, being succeeded as the 'power behind the throne' by his eldest son Umar. He made peace with the Fulani and had to restrain the Chief of Zinder from violating the treaty. While he was away on this errand, the representatives of the old Sef dynasty plotted to oust the house of El Kanemi, calling in the King of Wadai to their aid. This resulted, however, in the final and complete destruction of the Sefuwa. Mai Ibrahim was executed in 1846, and his son Ali, the last of the Sefuwa, was killed in battle.

Umar had now perforce to become the Sultan of Bornu, and the appellation *Shehu* or *Sheikh* was henceforth used instead of *Mai*. He rebuilt Kukawa, which had been destroyed by Wadai invaders, and in its place erected two adjacent towns. Here in 1851, and also in 1855, he entertained Dr. Barth, the famous

*The title
'Shehu'
supplants
that of
'Mai'*

*Shehu
Umar
(1835-
80)*

Kukawa

traveller, who collected much valuable information about the country to take back to Europe. In the former town El Kanemi was visited by Denham in 1822, as described in his journal.

The change in dynasty and the change in capital made no difference to the general organization of Bornu. The Kanembu did not conquer the country in the sense that the Fulani conquered the western Emirates. The transference of influence was easy and probably inevitable. The Kanembu dynasty was not, however, able to ensure the continued loyalty of the clans who had supported Laminu, which may account for the fact that they had little peace after 1880 and suffered such overwhelming defeat at the hands of Rabeh.

Umar died in 1880, but the power of Bornu had by then declined. Wadai was a constant invader, and Zinder had to all intents and purposes become independent.

*Decline of
power of
Bornu*

In 1893 came Rabeh. He was a powerful outlaw from the east who possessed a well-organized force. Being driven out of Wadai, he overran Baghermi and came to Bornu. As soon as Shehu Hashim heard that Rabeh had crossed the River Shari, the boundary between Bornu and Baghermi, he sent one Mamman Tar to meet him with a large force. Rabeh, with two thousand trained and well-armed troops, defeated him with the greatest of ease at Amja.

Rabeh

*Shehu
Hashim
(1885-
93)*

Shehu Hashim then advanced in person and met Rabeh near Ngala. Rabeh, who was badly outnumbered, employed skilful tactics similar to those of many generals who have found themselves in a numerical minority. He allowed Hashim to attack over bad ground, and used hidden mobile troops on either flank to take advantage of the confusion which his gunfire caused among the attacking army. The Bornu army was completely routed, and Rabeh advanced and occupied Kukawa, which he sacked before returning to Dikwa. The latter became his headquarters, and there he built the huge fort in which he maintained his troops, and which is to be seen to-day.

*Sack of
Kukawa*

Shehu Hashim had fled north beyond the River Yo, and his realm appears to have been delivered over to Rabeh's lieutenants. A young mallam called Buki organized a revolt, but was eventually killed after a gallant resistance in east Bornu.

Meanwhile, Muhammad El Amin, known as Kiari, a cousin

Kiari

of Shehu Hashim, secretly caused the fugitive King of Bornu to be murdered, and raised his standard in Geidam. He did not lack followers. He advanced on Dikwa from Geidam and met Rabeh, who was furious at having to leave his capital Dikwa, at Gashegar. The bravery of Kiari and his men met with the success it deserved, and Rabeh's camp was taken. Here, however, the factor of discipline told heavily in favour of Rabeh. He rallied his troops at once and launched a counter-attack which turned his defeat into success.

The Bornu army, too much occupied with the spoils of its former victory to consolidate its position, was routed almost at once, and Kiari fell into the hands of Rabeh. He was taken before his captor, who always respected bravery in a foe, and there questioned. Kiari, however, refused to treat with the invader, saying, 'If I had captured you, my slaves would have disposed of you by now.' Rabeh refused to hang so brave a man, and ordered his throat to be cut.

*Kiari put
to death*

Kiari's death ended the resistance of Bornu. Henceforth Rabeh established his military régime with Dikwa as the centre. His army was maintained by the devastating forays of his lieutenants, who had to collect the tribute from whatever districts were assigned to them. The resultant confusion and disintegration of Bornu has been felt to this day, and Bornu has only recently recovered from the economic losses which Rabeh's rule caused. It also brought about a severe social dislocation and the interruption which it caused in the succession of learned men, for whom Bornu was famous, is apparent to this day.

Kanemi In 1900 Rabeh was defeated and slain by the French at Kus-
dynasty seri, and his son Fadelallah at Gujba. The Kanemi dynasty was
restored then restored under British protection, in the person of Shehu
under Bukar Garbai, younger son of Shehu Ibrahim. He lived first at
British Mongonu, and in 1903 returned to Kukawa, which had been
Protec- rebuilt. Here he was visited by Sir Frederick Lugard in 1904,
tion who proclaimed the British Protectorate in Bornu, and on behalf
Shehu of the King of England presented Shehu Garbai with his staff
Bukar of office.
Garbai

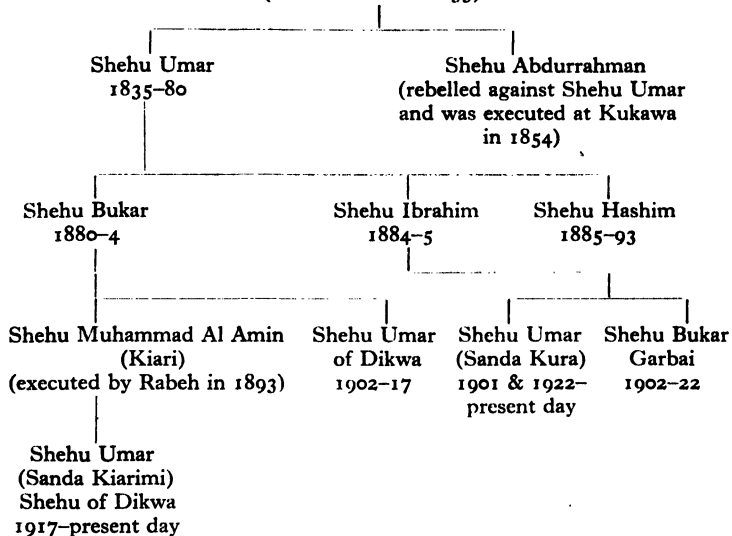
(1902-
22)

In 1907 the capital was moved to a site near Maiduguri, one of the largest market-places in Bornu. The new capital was named Yerwa, and there the Shehus of Bornu, Shehu Bukar and

his brother Shehu Umar (Sanda Kura), have ruled with British aid to the present day. The population of Yerwa to-day is over twenty-five thousand. *Shehu Umar*

THE SHEHUS OF BORNU

Shehu Muhammad El Amin El Kanemi
(died at Kukawa 1835)



THE JUKUNS

The Jukuns **I**N the district round Wukari, about twenty miles south of Ibi, and in scattered settlements to the north bank of the Benue, there is found a small tribe of people, huge-bodied and striking in appearance, speaking a primitive Sudanese language, known to the Hausas as the Jukuns. These are all that remain of a people that at one time were powerful enough to overrun Kano, Zaria, and the states of Panda and Idah, and whose kingdom extended from the borders of Bornu to the Cross River.

Religion Of the characteristics and organization which must have built up their power in the past there is little now to show, but they still hold fast to the cult which they have practised for centuries, and brought with them from the country of their origin. In its essentials it is in fact probably the same as the religion of Ancient Egypt. It is on account of this cult, whose mysteries they jealously guard against the intrusion of outsiders, whether they come to proselytize or merely to investigate, that the Jukuns still exercise a spiritual influence in many places where their temporal power has long since ceased to exist. All Jukuns look to Aku Uka (Chief of Wukari) as their spiritual head, and at the annual festival of Puje come from far and near to renew their allegiance.

Powers of magic Though the Jukun state doubtless could not have risen to the position that it held without a powerful military organization, it is also perhaps true, as they themselves say, that much of their influence has always been due to their superior powers of magic. They relate that during their earlier wanderings many tribes paid tribute to the Aku to protect them against drought or sickness, and a section of their own people, who had been intriguing with the Fulani at the time of their rise to power, were brought to submission by the Aku's threat to withhold rain and cause famine.

Origin It is known that the Jukuns entered Nigeria from the east, and that they have a common origin with the tribes across the

continent.¹ The story of their journey through the Sudan, of their wanderings and dealings with the people of Nigeria, and particularly of the inhabitants of Bornu, through which they passed, exists only as a few misty legends. They finally settled at Pi (Hausa, *Kwararafa*) about fifteen miles north-east of Bantaji, south of the Benue, and are first mentioned historically in the latter half of the fourteenth century when Pi was raided by Yaji Sarkin Kano, and again by his son Kanajeji. The rise of the Jukun people, however, dates from the middle of the sixteenth century. They attacked the city of Kano in the reign of Muhammad Zaki (1582-1618), driving the Kanawa back to Daura, and overrunning the country; and again in the reign of Muhammad Kukuma (1652-60), when they battered down the Kofar² Kawayi. In 1671 the Jukun army marched against Kano. Entering by the Kofar Gadon Kaya they destroyed the best part of the town. The Emir of Kano attacked them, but was defeated with great slaughter and fled to Daura. The Jukuns followed him as far as Jelli and then retired.

*Jukuns
invade
Kano in
16th and
17th
centuries*

Zaria was also conquered by the Jukuns. They followed a route through the Angas, mounting the plateau at Pankshin. A settlement of Jukuns in this locality claims to be descended from a party that became detached from the main body of the Jukun army when returning from one of these expeditions. During the seventeenth century the capital of the Jukun empire was removed from Pi to Puje, near the present town of Wukari. The reason for the move is not known, but was probably due to internal factions and the breaking away from Pi of the dominant party. The town of Pi existed down to about 1860, when it was destroyed by Burba of Bakundi.

*They
invade
Zaria*

Jukun tradition gives Katakpa as the name of the founder and first chief of Puje. It is during his time that the expedition against Bornu is said to have been made. They marched against N'gazargamu, the capital, but were defeated in peculiar circumstances. It so happened that when Katakpa's army encamped

*Expedi-
tion
against
Bornu
under
Katakpa*

¹ Mr. H. R. Palmer says: 'It seems to me now that it can be definitely proved that Wukari to-day represents the pre-Muhammadan dynasty of Kanem—the Dugawa—and they in turn were the remnant of the ancient state of Meroe—the Blemyes and Makorabu—who were pushed west by the victorious Christian Nobatac about A. D. 500.'

² *Kofa* = gate.

before the city on the south side, a Tuareg army was also encamped on its north side. Neither knew of the other's existence, but the inhabitants of the city could see both, and in order to save themselves from extinction made terms with the Tuaregs, and, joining forces with them, fell upon and routed the Jukuns.

After this expedition overtures were made between the Jukun Chief and the Shehu of Bornu. Ambassadors were accredited to each court, and a state of friendship and mutual respect sprang up between the two kingdoms. In this connexion the Jukun story-tellers relate many instances where Jukun magic has been pitted against the miracle-working power of Islam. In these myths, the result of the test is invariably a draw, honours being divided. Religious and political toleration seems in short to have been the Jukun attitude toward the state of Bornu at this time.

Agwabi Katakpa was succeeded by his son Agwabi, who attacked and captured Kano about 1671. This is the last big Jukun expedition recorded, and their power had begun to decline by the middle of the eighteenth century. They continued, however, to found new towns in the Benue districts, and the Arago of Doma acknowledged the suzerainty of the Aku Uka up till about 1800.

About 1815, when the old town of Pi was being attacked by Buba Yero of Gombe, some of the inhabitants fled across the Benue to the district now known as Kasar Chiki, and founded Awe, Azara, Use, &c. They nearly all left later to settle south of the river, and their failure to establish themselves may have given rise to the superstition that no chief of Wukari must ever cross over to the north bank.

*Wukari
built by
Zakanju* Zakanju, also called Tsonkwa, is said to have built the present town of Wukari about 1815, but tradition and local evidence seem to show that the site has been occupied for considerably longer.

*Agbu-
manu
(1848-
66)* His successor Agbumanu (1848-66) had dealings, some friendly and some the reverse, with the Chamba and Tibar people who had lately (about 1830) migrated under Fulani pressure from Yola, and settled respectively in Donga and Takum. Boshi, chief of Takum, raided as far as Wukari, and received a toll of slaves. Jukun territory was also invaded by Hamadu, Emir of Muri, and again by the Fulani under Sarkin Wase, and Yarima

Sale of Missau, who besieged the town of Wukari. Accounts of the result of this expedition are conflicting, but it is clear that the Jukuns at this time were forced to recognize the paramount power of the Fulani, and apparently were wont to send presents of slaves to the Emirs of Bauchi, Zaria, and Muri. Ashumanu (1866-71), the next Aku, lost his life in a disastrous expedition undertaken at the request of Sarkin Donga against an insubordinate minor chief, the head of Takola district. The combined forces of Wukari and Donga were surprised by Duna Sarkin Jibu, who had been joined by Bayaro, son of the Sarkin Musulmi from Lafia, and driven into the River Donga. Sarkin Donga was one of the few survivors, but his ally Ashumanu was drowned.

*Ashu-
manu*
(1866-
71)

He was succeeded by Andumanu (1871-1903). It was in his time that the Munshi, who had settled in the country to the west and were spreading eastwards, began to give trouble, forcing him to look for assistance. He carried out expeditions against them in conjunction with the Emir of Muri, and called in the help of a famous warrior from Lafia called Dankoro. This man proved an unfortunate choice, for instead of fighting against the Munshi he allied himself with them, playing the part of an adventurer, and annoying the Jukuns for over thirty years. Since the British Occupation the Munshi have continued to push eastwards by peaceful penetration. In 1917 a limit was set to their advance, lest they should completely swallow up the remaining Jukun territory. The present policy, however, is to try to give back to the Jukuns some of their lost prestige, by extending the authority of Wukari over the Munshi clans who have settled in the country round.

*Andu-
manu*
(1871-
1903)

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

1. GENERAL SURVEY

Ancient Times. Breasted.
Mediaeval and Modern Times. Robinson.
History of Civilization. Buckle.
Intellectual Development of Europe. Draper.
A Tropical Dependency. Lady Lugard.
Outline History of the World. H. A. Davies.

2. ARAB CIVILIZATION

Literary History of the Arabs. Nicholson.
A Short History of the Saracens. Ameer Ali.
Life of Mohammed. Muir.
Bagdad during the Abbassid Caliphate. Le Strange.
The Preaching of Islam. Arnold.
Islam at the Crossroads. De Lacy O'Leary.
Modern Egyptians. Lane.
The Moors in Spain. Lane-Poole.
The Saracens. Gilman.
Travels in Arabia Deserta. Doughty.
Literary History of Persia, vol. i. Browne.
The Caliphate, Rise, Decline and Fall. Muir.
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Arabic Thought and its Place in History. De Lacy O'Leary.
Moslems in Spain. Dozy.
Ummeyyads and Abbassids. Jurji Zaydam.
Prolegomena, Ibn Khaldun. (French Trans. by De Slane.)
Travels, Ibn Batuta. (French Trans. by Defrémery and Sanguinetti.)

3. RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAM

Le Dogme et la Loi de l'Islam. Goldziher.
Development of Muslim Theology. Macdonald.
The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam. Macdonald.
Les Confréries Religieuses Mussulmanes. Depond et Cappolani.

4. THE WESTERN SUDAN

The Tarih es Sudan. Es Sadi. (Translated into French by Houdas.)
Timbuctou le Mystérieux. Dubois.
A Tropical Dependency. Lady Lugard.
History and Description of Africa. Leo Africanus.
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Travels in Africa. Barth.

The People of the Veil. Francis Rodd.

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History and Description of Africa. Leo Africanus.

The Sultanate of Bornu. Benton.

La Chute de l'Empire de Rabeh. Gentil.

Bornu Gazetteer.

Travels in Africa. Denham.

6. EUROPEAN DISCOVERIES

Historical Geography of the British Colonies. Lucas.

Geography of British West Africa. Beverley and Kerr.

Mediaeval and Modern Times. Robinson.

(Various Books of Travel by Explorers.)

7. LOCAL HISTORY

Provincial Gazetteers.

Provincial Historical Files.

Tribes and Emirates of Northern Nigeria. Temple.

Northern Tribes of Nigeria. Meek.

Travels in Central Africa. Barth.

Notes on the Ethnology of Bornu and Hausaland. H. R. Palmer.

Sudanese Memoirs. 3 vols. H. R. Palmer.

Fulani Emirates of Northern Nigeria. Burdon.

Historical Notes on certain Emirates and Tribes in Northern Nigeria. (This contains a translation of the Kano Chronicle by H. R. Palmer with an introduction; and also a Contribution to the History of the Hausa States by Mischlich.) } arranged by Major Burdon.

History of the Yorubas. Johnson.

Various works by Mamman Bello, e. g. Im Fakul Maisuri, Raulat al Afkari, &c., and also some by Abdullahi dan Fodio.

Various Local Manuscripts and Oral Traditions.

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